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JOHN MILTON,
Born 1608. Died 1674.

*From the original Painting by Faithorne?
in the possession of William Baker, Esq.*

Published, 1826, by C & J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard.

THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

THE THIRD EDITION,
WITH OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS;
AND WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,
DERIVED PRINCIPALLY FROM
Documents in his Majesty's State-Paper Office,
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

BY THE
REV. H. J. TODD, M.A. F.S.A. & R.S.L.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON, COUNTY OF YORK.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1826.

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TO THE
ILLUSTRIOUS MEMORY
OF
FRANCIS, DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER,
TO WHOSE KINDNESS THESE VOLUMES
OWE CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE,
AND THE EDITOR OF THEM
THE MOST HEART-FELT OBLIGATION,
THIS EDITION OF
MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THIS edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, accompanied with notes of various authors, is the third which I have presented to the publick ; and, to the preceding, other illustrations are now added. An account of the Life and Writings of the Poet, brief indeed, and with no other pretension than that of being drawn from authentick sources, accompanied the former editions. To the present some of that account is prefixed, greatly augmented with original documents illustrating the private and publick character of Milton, which have long been hidden amidst other literary curiosities, and till now have never been published. Of these important materials further information shall here be given.

In his Majesty's State-Paper Office they are preserved ; and my knowledge of them, in the

first instance, I owe to the friendly communication of Mr. Evans, bookseller, in Pall-Mall. It occurred some time since to the deputy keeper of the State-Papers, Robert Lemon, Esq., that as the official life of Milton was known only as to the fact of his having been Latin secretary to the Council of State during the Usurpation, an investigation of the *Orders of that Council* might discover new facts relating to the secretary. His searches were repaid with ample success. And his extracts from the *Council-Books* were transmitted to me, with the kind approbation of the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Peel, early in 1825. These Books, from which so much curious information is derived, contain the daily transactions of the Executive Government in England from February 1648-9 to September 1658, in uninterrupted succession; and are particularly valuable from the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653 to the death of Cromwell, as, during the greater part of that period, the Council of State combined the executive and legislative functions of government; and these *Order Books*, Mr. Lemon adds, are the authentick but hitherto unknown records of their proceedings. But besides these, in the same Office there exist other documents, entitled *Royalists' Composi-*

tion-Papers. They comprehend, Mr. Lemon says, two distinct series; the first consisting of petitions of Royalists to the Commissioners for Sequestration, of the orders of those Commissioners respecting the sequestration of Estates, of the reports of their subordinate officers, and of the correspondence with sub-commissioners and other agents in every part of the kingdom : The second series exhibits the original particulars of property and estates, for which Royalists were permitted to compound on the payment of a fine. These papers are peculiarly valuable in illustrating the family history, as well as the various property of individuals, throughout the kingdom, during the time of the Great Rebellion. Of these, by the continued industry and accurate attention of Mr. Lemon, no less than one hundred and sixty-seven folio volumes had been recovered and arranged, when (in 1825 also) he transmitted to me from this invaluable collection the sequestration-papers relating to Mr. Powell, the father of Milton's first wife, in which Milton himself is particularly concerned; and to Sir Christopher Milton, the brother of the poet. Other papers and letters, from the same Office, alike unknown till now, and of the greatest service to the biography of Milton, have since, at various times, been sent to me

by this gentleman ; empowered as he was at all times so to do, from the very first exertion of his kindness, by the permission of Mr. Secretary Peel ; to whom, and to Mr. Under-Secretary Hobhouse, I acknowledge the greatest obligations, as well as to Mr. Lemon ; and to whose friendly and condescending instrumentality the publick is indebted for what is now told of the poet, of his family, and of some of his works, which never was before in print. What has been thus liberally supplied, might indeed by others have been arranged with elegance, and illustrated with taste ; but not with greater fidelity than the following pages exhibit. This with other anecdotes relating to the history of Milton's friends, of his works, and of his times, will plead for attention to an unadorned narration. A fac-simile of the poet's hand-writing is also given from one of the documents in the State-Paper Office ; and to the biography I have now added, as Hayley did to his *Life of Milton*, an *Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost*.

I will now repeat the substance of the preface to my former editions of the *Poetical Works*, in which an account is given of those criticks and annotators, whose observations had been selected

by Dr. Newton ; and of those, with whose subsequent remarks the present volumes are enriched.

The first annotator on the poet was Patrick Hume, a Scotchman. He published, in 1695, a copious commentary on the *Paradise Lost* ; “^a to which some of his successors in the same province,” Mr. Warton says, “apprehending no danger of detection from a work rarely inspected, and too pedantick and cumbersome to attract many readers, have been often amply indebted, without even the most distant hint of acknowledgement.” His illustrations in these volumes will be rarely found uninteresting. To him succeeded the elegant Addison, by whose “^b blandishments of gentleness and facility, Milton has been made an universal favourite, with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be acquainted.” His essays on the *Paradise Lost* are here printed as a Preliminary Dissertation ; the remarks on each *particular book* not being detached from the *general* observations on the Poem, because the author himself was desirous that the reader should not

^a Preface to his edition of Milton's Smaller Poems.

^b Dr. Johnson's Life of Addison.

neglect to view the *whole extent* of his criticism. By the same critick ^d *Comus* and *L'Allegro* had been before commended. In 1732, Dr. Bentley published a splendid edition of the *Paradise Lost*, by which he acquired no honour. His specious pretences of an interpolated text, and his arbitrary method of emendation, were received with derision and disgust. Yet there are some notes, in the edition, which bespeak the unvitiated taste of this eminent scholar, and to which the classical reader will always thankfully subscribe. Immediately after the publication of this edition, the admirers of Milton were gratified by Dr. Pearce's masterly and candid refutation of the editor's chimerical corrections: And the *Review of the Text of Paradise Lost* furnished abundant annotations, at once instructive and delightful. In 1734, the two Richardsons published their *Explanatory Notes on the Paradise Lost*. Soon afterwards, Dr. Warburton communicated to the world some remarks upon the same poem. An *Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*,

^c See the Prolegomena in the present edition, vol. ii. Dr. Johnson also wrote his *Essay on Milton's Versification*, in order to serve as a *continuation* of this criticism. See this also in the second volume.

^d Tatler, No. 98. Nov. 24, 1709.

^e Spectator, No. 249. Dec. 15, 1711.

said to be written by a gentleman of North Britain, whose name, it is believed, has not been divulged; the *Letters concerning poetical Translations*, ascribed to Auditor Benson; and the *Critical Observations on Shakspeare*, in which are interspersed remarks upon Milton, by Mr. Upton; were the next publications, from which Dr. Newton professes to have derived assistance. But, besides the flower of those which had been already published, he added many new observations both of others and his own. He was indebted, for several ingenious illustrations of *Paradise Lost* to his relation, Dr. Greenwood. He was also obliged by the use of Dr. Heylin's manuscript remarks on the same poem; which had been before communicated to Bentley, and of which the greater part (according to his account) had been disingenuously 'adopted, by that critick, without ac-

' "I cannot," if I may employ Milton's expressions, "think" Bentley "so to seek, or so unprincipled in" criticism's "book," as to be guilty of this meanness. I was favoured, before the edition of 1809 was published, by the Rev. J. Mitford, (in whose possession this literary curiosity was,) with the examination of Tonnson's quarto edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1720, containing Bentley's alterations of the text, as well as various memoranda for notes. These are probably the *first* expressions and remarks of the great critick, in regard to the labour which he had undertaken. It may be acceptable to the curious reader, (and it is evident that they do not minutely accord with Bentley's edition,) if I present him with specimens from the beginning and end of the poem.

knowledge. By the manuscript communications of Richardson, Jortin, and Warburton; and more particularly by those of the modest and liberal Mr. Thyer; his commentary on *Paradise Lost* was considerably enlarged. To the same learned coadjutors, with the addition of such respectable names as Sympson, and Seward, the

B. i. ver. 5. *sacred top.*

ver. 13. *adventurous wing.*

ver. 15. *I pursue.*

ver. 16. *verse*, (5, 15.) then *song.*

ver. 18. — *th' heart upright.* (221. 2, 72.)

ver. 26. — to *Man.*

ver. 28. *deep gulph.*

ver. 34. *whose wile.* (646. 9, 85. And note at the bottom,
Ephes. vi. 11. Wile, craft, guile, fraud.)

ver. 36. *Thee mother, &c.*

ver. 39. *God's Son.* (5, 660. And at the bottom,
To place in glory above the Son of God.)

ver. 46. *ruin and confusion.*

ver. 48. *circling.* (2. 647. And at the bottom,
Inchain'd with adamant rock and circling fire.
Also, over *circling* is written *solid.*)

B. xii. ver. 599. — *her first to know.*

ver. 603. — *with cause*

Humbled for evils past—

ver. 610. *Whither thou went'st, and whence return'st—*

ver. 643. *blade.* (592. xi. 120. And note below, *flaming sword.* Gen. i. 24.)

ver. 648. *Then* — *wearied, afterwards carefull,*
next social, and lastly

— *with social steps their way*

Through Eden took, with hope and promise
chear'd.

And for *hope and promise* is also given *heavn'ty favour.*

editors of Beaumont and Fletcher ; of the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worcester ; of the Rev. Mr. Calton of Lincolnshire ; and of Mr. Peck the antiquary ; Dr. Newton's subsequent edition of *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Smaller Poems*, was also gratefully indebted.

In the year after the publication of Dr. Newton's edition of *Paradise Lost*, there was published at Glasgow the first Book of that poem with a large and very learned commentary ; from which some notes are selected in this edition. They, who are acquainted with this commentary, will concur with me in wishing that the annotator had continued his ingenious and elaborate criticisms on the whole poem. That annotator, I have been told, was Mr. Callander. And since the publication of the first edition of these volumes, I was favoured, by the learned Malcolm Laing, Esq. with a small interleaved Copy of *Paradise Lost*, containing memoranda of Mr. Callander for notes on the whole poem, and a few remarks completed.

In a letter from the late Mr. Mason to Dodsley, the bookseller, dated May 31, 1747, which was in the possession of my friend, the late

Isaac Reed, Esq. an editorial intention is announced; which, though not accomplished, it may not be improper here to notice; as it coincides with the opinion of him, who has so ably illustrated the picturesque description, and romantick imagery, of the poems which Mr. Mason mentions; and to whose illustrations the editor must next express his obligations. "I could wish to know," Mr. Mason says, "whether Tonson or any other Bookseller has a property in the second volume of Milton. I have often thought it a great pity that many of the beautiful pieces it contains should be so little read as they certainly are. I fancy this has arisen from *the bad thing* they are tack'd to. I want vastly to have a separate edition of the *Tragedy, Mask, Lycidas, L'Allegro, &c.* And I fancy I shall some time or other undertake it myself; but, if you think that it would sell at present, I would willingly give you my assistance either for a preface, or notes, or any thing that should be thought necessary; and this merely for the sake of the incomparable poet, whom I am not content with having considered and praised as the Author of *Paradise Lost* alone."

What Mr. Mason might have intended, the

late Mr. Warton effected. In 1785 the publick was presented with *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus*, *Odes*, *Sonnets*, &c. accompanied with Mr. Warton's critical and explanatory notes; of which a second edition, with many alterations and large additions, was published in 1791, soon after his lamented death: In whom Poetry and Antiquity lost one of their most zealous votaries, Criticism one of its ablest assertors, Society one of its most agreeable members, and the University of Oxford one of her most valuable and most respected sons. Mr. Warton appears to have also planned an edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, by having omitted in the latter edition such notes as more immediately related to those poems, and which had appeared in the former edition; and by substituting merely references to the notes on those respective passages. The signatures to the sheets of his latter edition are numbered indeed *volume the first*. From both these editions, in which the names of Warburton, Hurd, Bowle, and Dr. Joseph Warton, often occur as annotators, the most valuable illustrations have been derived to the following pages. I was also greatly obliged, since the publication of my first edition, to the Rev. John Warton, for the

notes in manuscript, both of his father and uncle, on the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. They were indeed but very few in number. Those of the latter appear to have been principally drawn from his first edition of the *Smaller Poems*, in subserviency to the plan just noticed. From the late Mr. Dunster's edition of *Paradise Regained*, published in 1795, a copious stock of judicious and elegant observations on that poem has been also here extracted. Of the numerous remarks, in manuscript, on *Paradise Lost* and on almost all the remaining *English Poems* of Milton, which Mr. Dunster consigned to the proprietors of this edition in 1805, and with the perusal of which I was entrusted for the purpose of selecting such as I might consider suitable to my plan, I have spoken with pleasure; and in the selection I have made, the candid reader will acknowledge many an ingenious and solid remark, evincing the taste and learning by which Mr. Dunster was distinguished.

From modern works of critical eminence, relating to the English language and poetry, many notices have been likewise drawn; in particular, from the compositions of Lord Monboddo, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Blair; from mo-

dern commentaries on Shakspeare; from Mr. Headley's Select Specimens of Ancient English Poetry; from the acute observations of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hayley; and in short, if I may respectfully adopt the language of my predeceassour, "like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them."

Contributions, however, have not been exacted, without references to the original treasures of the information adduced, or without the names of the authors subjoined. Of the notes in Dr. Newton's excellent edition of the *Paradise Lost*, few have been omitted, and some have been shortened; by which method I have been enabled to introduce, without too copious a commentary, the important observations of criticks already enumerated, as well as of those who are yet to be named. Of the notes also in his edition of *Paradise Regained*, and the remaining *Poems*, several are retained. The labours of Mr. Warton and Mr. Dunster rendered more perhaps unnecessary.

I must now acknowledge obligations, not perhaps less interesting or valuable, to manuscript communications, besides those already

mentioned of Mr. Callander, the two Wartons, and Mr. Dunster.

To the late George Steevens, Esq. I was indebted for the interleaved copies of *Paradise Lost*, and of the *Smaller Poems* printed in 1673, with many manuscript remarks by the late Mr. Bowle ; after whose decease these volumes came into Mr. Steevens's hands ; and, since the death of Mr. Steevens, have become my property. This singular kindness was conferred by Mr. Steevens at the commencement of this undertaking ; not without a promise also of further assistance ; which, unfortunately for the publick and for me, he lived not to afford.

To the late Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. the author of the very elegant *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, and of other valuable publications, I was particularly obliged for many remarks, biographical as well as critical.

My sincerest thanks have been also given to two distinguished prelates ; the late bishop of Ely and the present bishop of St. Asaph. The former, (Dr. Dampier,) on being made acquainted in 1800 by my very kind and zealous friend, the latter, (Dr. Luxmoore,) with this un-

dertaking, obligingly transmitted to me an interleaved copy of *Paradise Lost*, with numerous manuscript notes, by that accomplished scholar, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. containing not only the chief classical allusions, which are found in Dr. Newton's edition, but also citations of various other passages, or references to such, subservient to the illustration of the poem. They had been put together about the year 1745, with a view to publication; but were left unfinished, from the apprehension that they would not make their way in opposition to Dr. Newton's edition, which was then announced under the patronage of Lord Bath. These particulars were gathered from several important letters of Mr. Stillingfleet to Dr. Dampier's father, formerly Dean of Durham; to whom he had presented his interleaved *Paradise Lost*. From one of these letters, entrusted to me also by Dr. Dampier, I selected the truly Miltonick Sonnet written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which is now printed in the *Preliminary Observations on the Sonnets*, in the fifth volume of this edition. It must be added, that the volume, containing the first six books of *Paradise Lost*, was nearly printed off, when I was honoured with these remarks. A selection, therefore, of Mr. Stillingfleet's notes on those books, was

given, duly stated, at the close of *my first edition*, among other additions to the preceding volumes ; and, in *the last* and *the present*, these notes are in their respective places, with Mr. Stillingfleet's name subjoined.

To the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury I acknowledge respectful obligations for the use of manuscripts in their possession, which have contributed to the purposes of my labour.

But my gratitude can never be sufficiently expressed for the aids afforded me by the Library of the late Duke of Bridgewater. And as on a former occasion I had to thank his Grace for permission to print the manuscript *Mask of Comus*, obtained through the obliging application of Mr. Egerton, [now Earl of Bridgewater ;] so was I gratified, through the same literary attention, by being allowed to print, on the occasion of my complete edition of Milton's poetry, the manuscript *Mask of Marston* performed before the Countess Dowager of Derby ; and to make use of many rare and curious books, perhaps not to be found in other collections. To this liberal condescension I owe the opportunity of having introduced

to publick notice the poems of some forgotten English bards, as well as other pieces of our ancient literature, hitherto overpassed by the most curious investigators. Nor, in recording this circumstance, will I lose the occasion of adverting to the late head of this illustrious house ; both in avowing that to the kindness of the Right Hon. John-William, late Earl of Bridgewater, in introducing me to his family I was primarily indebted for the favours I have stated, and that by his patronage I have been benefited and honoured. The invaluable collection, from which I derived such advantage, was removed in 1800 from his Grace's seat at Ashridge to Cleveland House, London ; and at his death in 1803 became, by bequest, the property of his nephew, the present Marquis of Stafford, to whom as an ardent lover of literature, and an exquisite judge of what is serviceable to its interests, the donation has been most acceptable.

I was fortunate also in obtaining other manuscript supplies of no mean import. To my friends, the liberal friends indeed to the literature of their country, the late Isaac Reed, Esq. and the late James Bindley, Esq. I was obliged for many valuable suggestions, as well

as for the favour of several scarce works in their choice and rich collections.

From the Rev. Mr. Boyd, the elegant translator of Dante, I received, as the edition of 1809 was closing at the press, the very interesting *Observations on the Characters of the Fallen Angels of Milton*. The few communications of other gentlemen are noticed in their respective places.

Having thus discharged my duty of grateful acknowledgement, I proceed to give the reader an account of what he is to expect further in the conduct of the edition.

The chief purpose of my notes, is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, to “ explain the allusions of Milton ; to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties ; to point out his imitations both of others, and of himself ; to elucidate his obsolete diction ; and, by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to show the peculiarities of his phraseology.” Mr. Warton justly adds, that, “ among the English poets, those readers who trust to preceding commentators will be led to

believe, that Milton imitated Spenser and Shakspeare only. But his style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are also to be traced in other English poets, who were either contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Nor have his imitations from Spenser and Shakspeare been hitherto sufficiently noticed." Of this it has been a part of my task, as it was of Mr. Warton, to produce proofs. The coincidences of "Fancy's sweetest children," Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, are accordingly here enlarged. The obligations of our author to Dante, as well as to some other Italian poets, hitherto little noticed, are pointed out. The poet's imitations of himself are also considerably augmented. Nor have the romances and fabulous narratives, on which the poetry of Milton is often founded, been neglected. While I have not been sparing of classical illustration, I have constantly kept in mind the necessity of attention to the literature of Milton's age. Without this attention, as Mr. Warton remarks, "the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood. Coeval books, which might clear such

references, were therefore to be consulted ; and a new line of commentary was to be pursued. Comparatively, the classical annotator has here but little to do. Dr. Newton, an excellent scholar, was unacquainted with the treasures of the Gothick library. From his more solid and rational studies, he never deviated into this idle track of reading." But, as Milton, at least in his early poems, may be reckoned an old English poet ; and as in his later poetry allusions to the sources of fictions, with which he had been pleased in his youth, often appear ; he generally requires that illustration, however trifling it may seem to fastidious readers, without which no old English poet can well be illustrated.

The arrangement of the materials in these volumes has been formed with a view to uniformity, and to the accommodation of the reader. The Table of General Contents will point out the order observed ; the accompanying dissertations ; and the appendixes subjoined.

I have endeavoured to render the text as perspicuous as possible ; not only by several illustrations of antiquated words, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, in a succession of editions had been gradually and silently, yet perhaps

not always properly, refined ; but also by comparing the copies published under the immediate notice or direction of Milton, as well as most subsequent editions ; more particularly those of Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and the later editors : as the notes will show. Nor should I here omit to mention, that Milton has not so uniformly contracted the words of his language, as to countenance the spelling of *isle*, of *honour*, of *inferiour*, of *musick*, and several other words, with the omission of a letter in each. Milton's manuscript at Cambridge, and his own editions of his *Poems*, as well as of his *Paradise Lost*, will afford testimonies to this observation. The text of Milton must, indeed, exhibit some peculiarities. By such as are here retained, the meaning cannot be embarrassed. His love of Italian, of Chaucer, and of Spenser, requires this notice.

To the punctuation also, of which Milton has been pronounced by Mr. Warton to have been habitually careless, great attention has been paid. I conceived it my duty likewise to examine the manuscript, containing many of Milton's early poems, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge ; and I found, on examination, several particularities which had

been omitted by those who had before collated the manuscript, and which were too curious not to be noticed in my edition. To the end of the several poems, of which there are copies in the manuscript, these Various Readings are annexed. The reason is assigned in the *Appendix to Paradise Lost*, No. I.

Such are the materials here accumulated, in order to explain the labours of Milton : of Milton, the proud boast of his own country, and the admiration of the world : of Milton, whose imitations of others are so generally adorned with new modes of sentiment or phraseology, that they lose the nature of borrowings, and display the skill and originality of a perfect master ; and from whom succeeding poets, at various periods, have “ stolen authentick fire.”

To the liberal and candid reader I commit these volumes with cheerfulness ; and I trust that I have not greatly exposed myself in them either to the insults of malicious ingenuity, or to the cavils of unforgiving bigotry. My errors, let me hope, will be overlooked in my endeavours to please and to inform ; and my labour, I am sure, is amply compensated in the consideration, that can cease only with my exist-

ence, of the delight afforded by minute attention to the poetry of Milton :

—— “ While I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven ;
 “ And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
 “ Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst
 “ And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
 “ Of sweet repast ; they satiate, and soon fill,
 “ Though pleasant ; but thy words, with grace divine
 “ Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.”

Par. Lost, B. viii. 210.

SETTRINGTON,

May 1, 1826.

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SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
MILTON.

SECTION I.

From the Birth of Milton to the time of his Marriage.

JOHN MILTON, son of John and Sarah Milton, was born on the 9th of December* 1608, at the house of his father, who was then an eminent scrivener in London, and lived at the sign of the Spread Eagle (which was the armorial ensign of the family) in Bread-street. The ancestry of the poet was highly respectable. His father was educated as a gentleman, and became a member of Christ-Church, Oxford; in which society, as it may be presumed, he imbibed his attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, and abjured the errors of Popery; in consequence of which, his father, who was a bigotted papist, dis-

* "The xxth daye of December 1608 was baptized John, the sonne of John Mylton, scrivener." *Extract from the Register of Allhallows, Bread-street.*

inherited him. The student therefore chose, for his support, the profession already mentioned; in the practice of which he became so successful as to be enabled to give his children the advantages of a polite education, and at length to retire with comfort into the country.

The grandfather of the poet was under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover, near Halton, in Oxfordshire; and probably resided at the village of Milton in that neighbourhood,^b where the family of Milton, in remoter times, were distinguished for their opulence; till, one of them having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars of York and Lancaster, the estate was sequestered; and the proprietor was left with nothing but what he^c held by his wife. There is a tradition^d that the poet had once resided in this village, while he was Secretary to the Council of State.

^b In the Registers of Milton, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, there are however no entries of the name of Milton. Phillips, Milton's nephew, says that the family resided at Milton *near Abingdon in Oxfordshire*, as appeared by the monuments then to be seen in Milton church. But *that Milton* is in *Berkshire*; and Dr. Newton searched in vain for the monuments said to exist in that church. The information of Wood is most probably correct, that they lived at Milton near Halton and Thame. I find in R. Willeii Poematum Liber, 1573, among the Winchester scholars therein named of that period, a *John Milton*; probably one of this family.

^c Phillips's Life of Milton, 1694, p. iv.

^d Communicated to me by letter from Milton.

The mother of Milton is said by * Wood, from Aubrey, to have been a Bradshaw; descended from a family of that name in Lancashire. Peck relates, that he was † informed she was a Haughton of Haughton-tower in the same county. But Phillips, her grandson, whose authority it is most reasonable to admit, ‡ affirms, in his *Life of Milton*, that she was a Caston, of a genteel family derived originally from Wales. Milton himself has § recorded, with becoming reference to the respectability of his descent, the great esteem in which she was held for her virtues, especially her charity.

His father was particularly distinguished for his musical abilities. He is said to have been a † voluminous composer, and equal in science, if not in genius, to the best musicians of his age. Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, in their *Histories of Musick*, have each selected a specimen of his skill. He has been mentioned also by Mr. Warton, as the author of *A sixe-fold Politician; together with a sixe-fold precept of Policy*. Lond. 1609. But Mr. Hayley agrees with Dr. Farmer and Mr. Reed

* *Fasti Ox.* vol. i. p. 262, &c. chiefly taken, as Mr. Warton has observed, from Aubrey's manuscript *Life of Milton*, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

† *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740, p. 1.

‡ *Life of Milton*, p. v.

§ "Londini sum natus, *genere honesto*, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissimâ, et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum notâ." *Defens. Sec.* vol. iii. p. 95. edit. fol. 1698.

† Dr. Burney's *Hist. of Musick*, vol. iii. p. 134.

in assigning that work rather to John Melton, author of the *Astrologaster*, than to the father of our poet. Of his attachment to literature, however, the Latin verses of his son, addressed to him with no less elegance than gratitude, are an unequivocal proof. Perhaps it may again be confounding him with the author of the *Astrologaster*, in noticing the person who signs himself John Melton, citizen of London, at the close of a very indifferent Sonnet of fourteen lines, addressed to John Lane on his *Guy of Warwick*, which is preserved in the British Museum, and bears the date of licence for being printed in July 1617. This John Lane is the person whom Milton's nephew calls¹ "a fine old queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within his remembrance," and of whose poems he gives a very flattering character. The Sonnet is entitled "*In Poesis Laudem*," and is not worth citing. But a little poem, to which the musick of the elder Milton's Madrigal is adapted, (whether the poetical as well as the musical composition be his or not,) is given¹ below, on account of

^k Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, p. 111.

¹ See Madrigales, viz. The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5 and 6 voices, composed by diuers seuerall aucthors. Newly published by Thomas Morley, Batcheler of Musick, &c. 4to. Lond. 1601.

"For 6. Voices. Mad. XVIII.

"Fayre Orian in the morne,
 "Before the day was borne,
 "With velvet steps on ground,
 "Which made nor print nor sound,
 "Would see hir nymphs abed,
 "What lives those ladies led :

the circumstance which occasioned it, (that of flattering a maiden queen on the verge of seventy,) as a curiosity.

The care, with which Milton was educated, shows the ^m discernment of his father. The bloom of genius was fondly noticed, and wisely encouraged. He was so happy, bishop Newton says, as to share the advantages both of private and publick education. He was at first instructed, by private tuition, under ⁿ Thomas Young, whom Aubrey calls "a puritan in Essex who cutt his haire short;" who, having quitted

"The roses blushing sayd,

"O stay thou shepherd's mayd :

"And on a sodain all

"They rose and heard hir call.

"Then sang those shepherds and nymphs of Diana,

"Long live faire Oriana !"

^m The Annual Register of 1762 very erroneously refers to Milton's poem *Ad Patrem*, in order to support the following mistaken assertion : "Ariosto often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, and *our own Milton since*, that *his father banished him from the Muses*." Characters, Life of Ariosto, p. 23. Milton's verses to his father prove exactly the reverse.

ⁿ If Milton imbibed from this instructor, as Mr. Warton supposes, the principles of puritanism, it may be curious to remark that he never adopted from him the outward symbol of the sect. Milton preserved his "clustering locks" throughout the reign of the *round-heads*. Wood, describing the *Seekers* who came to preach at Oxford in 1647, affords a proper commentary on Young's *cutting his hair short*. "The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands lying on their breasts. They mostly had *short hair*, which at this time was commonly called the *Committee cut*," &c. *Fasti*. Ox. vol. ii. p. 61.

his country on account of his religious opinions, became Chaplain to the English merchants at Ham-
burgh; but afterwards returned, and during the
usurpation of Cromwell was master of Jesus College,
Cambridge. Of the pupil's affection for his early
tutor, his fourth elegy, and two Latin epistles, are
publick testimonies. Mr. Hayley considers the por-
trait of Milton by Cornelius Jansen, drawn when he
was only ten years old, *at which age* Aubrey affirms
“ *he was a poet,*” as having been executed in order
to operate as a powerful incentive to the future ex-
ertion of the infant author. This supposition is very
probable: And, as the portrait was drawn by a
painter^o then rising into fame, and whose price for a
head was five broad pieces, the mark of encourage-
ment was rendered more handsome and more con-
spicuous.

From the tuition of Mr. Young, Milton was re-
moved to St. Paul's School, under the care of Alex-
ander Gill, who at that time was the master; to
whose son, who was then usher and afterwards
master, and with whom Milton was a favourite
scholar, are addressed, in friendship, three of the
poet's Latin epistles. There is ^p no register of ad-

^o Jansen's first works in England are said to be dated about
1618; the year, in which the young poet's portrait was drawn.
See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting, Works*, vol. iii. p. 149.
edit. 1798.

^p As I found, upon inquiry of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, the late
Head-Master.

missions into St. Paul's School so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. But, as Milton's domestick preceptor quitted England in 1623, it is probable that he was then admitted into that seminary; at which time he was in his fifteenth year. He had already studied with uncommon avidity; but at the same time with such inattention to his health, seldom retiring from his books before midnight, that the source of his blindness may be traced to his early passion for letters. In his twelfth year, as ^a he tells us, this literary devotion began; from which he was not to be deterred either by the natural debility of his eyes, or by his frequent head-aches. The union of genius and application in the same person was never more conspicuous.

In 1623 he produced his first poetical attempts, the *Translations of the 114th and 136th Psalms*, to which, as to some other juvenile productions, he

^a "Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum studiis destinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut *ab anno ætatis duodecimo* vix unquam ante mediam noctem à lucubrationibus cubitum discederem; quæ prima oculorum perniciēs fuit, quorum ad naturalem debilitatem accesserant et crebri capitis dolores; quæ omnia cū discendi impetum non retardarent, et in ludo literario, et sub alijs domi magistris erudiendum quotidie curavit." *Def. Sec.* ut supr. Aubrey also relates, that "when Milton went to schoole, and when he was very younge, he studied very hard, and sate up very late, commonly til twelve or one o'clock; and his father ordered the maid to sitt up for him." *MS. Ashmol. Mus.* ut supr. His early reading was in poetical books. Humphry Lownes, a printer, living in the same street with his father, supplied him at least with Spenser and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

has annexed the date of his age. It has been uncandidly supposed, that he intended, by this method, to obtrude the earliness of his own proficiency on the notice of posterity. Dr. Johnson calls it “a *boast*, of which Politian has given him an example.” Milton and Politian have followed classical authority. Lucan^r thus speaks of himself:

“ Est mihi, crede, meis animus constantior annis,
 “ Quamvis nunc juvenile decus mihi pingere malas
 “ Cœperit, et nondum vicesima venerit ætas.”

But who will deny, that in these Translations the dawning of real genius may be discerned; or that his Ode, *On the Death of a fair Infant*, written soon after, displays, as a poetical composition, the vigour and judgement of maturer life? The verses also, *At a Vacation Exercise in the College*, written at the age of nineteen, have been repeatedly and justly noticed as containing indications of the future bard, “whose genius was equal to a subject that carried him beyond the limits of the world.”

Few readers will be inclined to admit that Cowley and other poets have surpassed, in “products of vernal fertility,” the efforts of Milton. Nor will many regard, without aversion, the unfair^s comparison of Milton’s juvenile effusions with those of Chatterton. Milton, as he is the most learned of modern poets,

^r Lucanus de seipso, in Panegyrico ad Calpurnium Pisonem. *Epigr. et Poem. Vet.* Paris, 1590, p. 121.

^s In the Biograph. Brit. vol. iv. p. 591, edit. Kippis.

may perhaps retain his princely rank also in the list of those who have written valuable pieces at as early or an earlier age; and Politian, Tasso, Cowley, Metastasio, Voltaire, and Pope, may bow to him, "as to superiour Spirits is due."

In the 17th year of his age, distinguished as a classical scholar, and conversant in several languages, he was sent, from St. Paul's School, to Cambridge; and was 'admitted a Pensioner at Christ College on the 12th of February, 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. Here he attracted particular notice by his academical exercises, as well as by several copies of verses, both Latin and English, upon occasional subjects. He neglected indeed no part of literature, although his chief object seems to have been the cultivation of his poetical abilities. "This good hap I had from a careful education," he says; "to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues; and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humourous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier."

* "Johannes Milton, Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in Literarum elementis sub Mag^{ro}. Gill, Gymnasii Paulini Præfecto, admissus est Pensionarius Minor Feb. 12^o. 1624, sub M^{ro}. Chappell, solvitque pro Ingr. 0. 10. 8." *Extract from the College Register.*

To his eminent skill, at this time, in the Latin tongue Dr. Johnson affords his tribute of commendation. "Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year; by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with nice discernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classick elegance." Milton's Latin exercises, which he recited publicly, are also marked with characteristick animation. From some remarkable passages in these, as Mr. Hayley observes, it appears "that he was first an object of partial severity, and afterwards of general admiration, in his college. He had differed in opinion concerning a plan of academical studies with some persons of authority in his College, and thus excited their displeasure. He speaks of them as highly incensed against him; but expresses, with the most liberal sensibility, his surprise, delight, and gratitude, in finding that his enemies forgot their animosity to honour him with unexpected applause."

But incidents unfavourable to the character of Milton, while a student at Cambridge, have been positively asserted to be contained in his own words; and the poet has been summoned to prove his own flagellation and banishment in the following verses, in his first elegy:

- " Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
 " Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.—
 " Nec duri libet usque *minas perferre* Magistri,
 " *Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.*"
 " Si sit hoc *exilium* patrias adiise penates,
 " Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,
 " Non ego vel *profugi* nomen sortémve recuso,
 " *Lætus et exilii* conditione fruor."

On these lines I must introduce Mr. Warton's observation.

" The words *vetiti laris*, and afterwards *exilium*, will not suffer us to determine otherwise, than that Milton was sentenced to undergo a temporary removal or rustication from Cambridge. I will not suppose for any immoral irregularity. Dr. Bainbridge, the Master, is reported to have been a very active disciplinarian: and this lover of liberty, we may presume, was as little disposed to submission and conformity in a college as in a state. When reprimanded and admonished, the pride of his temper, impatient of any sort of reproof, naturally broke forth into expressions of contumely and contempt against his governour. Hence he was punished. He is also said to have been whipped at Cambridge. See *Life of Bathurst*, p. 153. This has been reprobated and discredited, as a most extraordinary and improbable piece of severity. But in those days of simplicity and subordination, of roughness and rigour, this sort of punishment was much more common, and consequently by no means so disgraceful

and unseemly for a young man at the university, as it would be thought at present. We learn from Wood, that Henry Stubbe, a Student of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards a partisan of Sir Henry Vane, 'shewing himself too forward, pragmatical, and conceited,' was publicly whipped by the Censor in the college-hall. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 560. See also *Life of Bathurst*, p. 202. I learn from some manuscript papers of Aubrey the antiquary, who was a student of Trinity college Oxford, four years from 1642, 'that at Oxford, and, I believe, at Cambridge, the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deans: and Dr. Potter, while a tutor of Trinity college, I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the inns of court.' In the Statutes of the said college, given in 1556, the Scholars of the foundation are ordered to be whipped by the Deans, or Censors, even to their twentieth year. In the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys under sixteen. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of fifteen^u. The author of an old pamphlet, *Regicides no Saints nor Martyrs*, says that Hugh Peters, while at Trinity college, Cambridge, was publicly and

^u Mr. Warton is mistaken in this assertion. Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was in his seventeenth year. But this will presently be more largely considered.

officially whipped in the *Regent-walk* for his insolence, p. 81.

“ The anecdote of Milton’s whipping at Cambridge, is told by Aubrey. MS. *Mus. Ashm.* Oxon. Num. x. P. iii. From which, by the way, Wood’s Life of Milton in the *Fasti Oxonienses*, the first and the ground-work of all the lives of Milton, was compiled. Wood says, that he draws his account of Milton ‘ from his own mouth to my Friend, who was well acquainted with and had from him, and from his relations after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following.’ *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. *Fasti*, p. 262. This *Friend* is Aubrey; whom Wood, in another place, calls credulous, ‘ roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased.’ *Life of A. Wood*, p. 577. edit. Hearne, *Th. Caii Vind.* &c. vol. ii. This was after a quarrel. I know not that Aubrey is ever fantastical, except on the subjects of chemistry and ghosts. Nor do I remember that his veracity was ever impeached. I believe he had much less credulity than Wood. Aubrey’s *Monumenta Britannica* is a very solid and rational work, and its judicious conjectures and observations have been approved and adopted by the best modern antiquaries. Aubrey’s manuscript Life contains some anecdotes of Milton yet unpublished. [Since published in 1815 by Mr. Godwin in his *Lives of Milton’s Nephews*.]

“ But let us examine if the context will admit

some other interpretation. *Cæteraque*, the most indefinite and comprehensive of descriptions, may be thought to mean literary tasks called impositions, or frequent compulsive attendances on tedious and unimproving exercises in a college-hall. But *cætera* follows *minas*, and *perferre* seems to imply somewhat more than these inconveniences, something that was *suffered*, and severely felt. It has been suggested, that his father's economy prevented his constant residence at Cambridge; and that this made the college *lar dudum vetitus*, and his absence from the university an *exilium*. But it was no unpleasing or involuntary banishment. He hated the place. He was not only offended at the college-discipline, but had even conceived a dislike to the face of the country, the fields about Cambridge. He peevishly complains, that the fields have no soft shades to attract the Muse; and there is something pointed in his exclamation, that Cambridge was a place quite incompatible with the votaries of Phœbus. Here a father's prohibition had nothing to do. He resolves, however, to forget all these disagreeable circumstances, and to return in due time. The dismissal, if any, was not to be perpetual. In these lines, *ingenium* is to be rendered temper, nature, disposition, rather than genius.

“Aubrey says, from the information of our author's brother Christopher, that Milton's ‘first tutor there [at Christ's college] was Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindnesse, (*he whipt him*)

he was afterwards, though it seemed against the rules of the college, transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell*, who dyed parson of Lutterworth.' MS. *Mus. Ashm.* ut supr. This information, which stands detached from the body of Aubrey's narrative, seems to have been communicated to Aubrey, after Wood had seen his papers; it therefore does not appear in Wood, who never would otherwise have suppressed an anecdote which contributed in the least degree to expose the character of Milton. I must here observe, that Mr. Chappell, from his original Letters, many of which I have seen, written while he was a fellow and tutor of Christ's College, and while Milton was there, and which are now in the possession of Mr. Moreton of Westerham in Kent, by whom they have been politely communicated, appears to have been a man of uncommon mildness and liberality of manners."

To the authority of the preceding remarks Dr. Johnson has implicitly subscribed; not without adding, however, that it may be conjectured, from the willingness with which the poet has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

That flagellation might be performed upon offenders at Cambridge, (as well as at Oxford,) the Statutes of that university will show: That Milton

* It should be Tovey. I have seen the signature of his name to some resolutions of his college.

suffered this publick indignity, rests solely upon the testimony of Aubrey, which I am unable to controvert: But it is remarkable that it never should have been noticed by those who would have rejoiced in such an opportunity of exposing Milton to a little ridicule. Yet further. It is related by Mr. Warton, that, "in the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys *under sixteen*. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of *fifteen*." This is a mistake. Milton was in his *seventeenth* ^y year, when he was admitted at Christ's College. And if the same exemption was granted to boys of *sixteen* at Cambridge, as to those of the same age at Oxford, the flagellation of Milton becomes still less entitled to credit. One of the statutes of Christ's College, entitled Cap. 37. *De Lectoris Autoritate in Discipulos*, seems to countenance the supposition of similar exemption: After prescribing that they, who absent themselves from certain Lectures, shall be *fin*ed, the Statute subjoins the following reservation; "*si tamen adultus fuerit; alioquin, virgâ corrigatur.*"

The application also of *cætera* may be perhaps more *general* than Mr. Warton and Dr. Johnson have been pleased to consider it; instead of corporal punishment, it may suggest the idea of academical

^y See the Extract from the College Register, p. 9.

restrictions, to which a youth of Milton's genius could not submit; or merely of threats perhaps, which he thought he did not deserve; and, if he therefore acquiesced in a short exile from Cambridge, as some biographers suppose, it should seem that, by his admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1628, he had incurred no loss of terms; which rustication however must have occasioned, and which the Register of his College, or of the University, would probably have noticed. His reply to an enemy, who in the violence of controversy had asserted that he was expelled, may here be cited. "I must be thought if this libeller (for now he shews himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth *spent at the University*, to have been at length *vomited out thence*. For which *commodious lye*, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly, with all gratefull mind, that *more than ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals* at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of the College wherein I spent some years; who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters, full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular

* Apology for Smectymnus. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 174, edit. 1698.

good affection towards me." And still more pointedly in another place: "Pater me — *Cantabrigiam* misit: *Illic* disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui; *procul omni flagitio*, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum magistri, quem vocant, gradum," &c.

To oblige one of the fellows, his friends so affectionately noticed, he wrote, in 1628, the comital verses, entitled *Naturam non pati senium*. I mention this in order to obviate a remark made by Dr. Johnson, that the poet countenanced an opinion, prevalent in his time, "that the world was in its decay, and that we had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of nature." In the preceding year the following very learned work had been published, "An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, by George Hakewill, D.D. and Archdeacon of Surrey, 1627." The young poet, I conceive, had been much pleased with this excellent work, which refutes, with particular felicity of argument, the absurdity of supposing nature impaired. This forgotten folio has found an able advocate in modern days. "They," says Dr. Warton, "whom envy, malevolence, discontent, or disappointment, have induced to think that the world is totally degenerated, and that it is daily growing worse and

* Defens. Sec. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 95, edit. 1698.

* Pope's Works, edit. 1797. vol. iv. p. 319.

worse, would do well to read a sensible, but too much neglected, treatise of an old Divine, written in '1630, Hakewill's *Apology &c.*" This work was commended too by Archbishop^d Usher. A truly amiable and learned author, it may here be added, to whom the literature of this country is peculiarly indebted, has closed his *Philological Inquiries* with a chapter, well calculated, like the animated lines of Milton, to banish the timid and unbenevolent idea of nature's decrepitude.

Milton was designed by his parents, and once in his own resolutions, for the Church. But his subsequent unwillingness to engage in the office of a minister was communicated to a friend in a letter; (of which two draughts exist in^e manuscript;) with which he sent his impressive Sonnet, *On his being arrived at the age of twenty-three*. The truth is, Dr. Newton says, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church. This, no doubt, was a disappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances. Nor does he seem to have

^c This is the second edition of the work, which Dr. Warton seems not to have known.

^d See a Letter from Dr. Hakewill to Archbishop Usher, in the *Life and Letters of Usher* by R. Parr, D.D. fol. 1686. *Letters*, p. 398.

^e See Birch's *Life of Milton*, Dr. Newton's edit. of *Milton*, Sonnet vii. *General Dictionary*, 1738, vol. vii. And *Biograph. Brit.* 1760, vol. v. Art. *Milton*, where they are printed.

been disposed to any profession. It is certain that he also declined the ' Law. He had probably read, with no slight attention, the conduct of Tasso, as described by the noble biographer to whom he has addressed his admired eclogue :

“ * Il qual poema [il Rinaldo] mandò egli fuori per voler del Cardinal Luigi da Este ; e con poco piacer di suo padre ; il quale non haurebbe ciò per due ragioni desiderato. Primieramente percioche Bernardo non rimaneua appagato, che l'animo del giouanetto s'appigliasse alla piaceuolezza della poesia, perche non deuiasse (come aduienne) dallo studio delle leggi dal qual' egli speraua maggiori comodi con l'esempio in contrario di se medesimo, che per molto, e per bene c' hauesse, et in versi, et in prosa saputo scriuere, non potette giammai però auanzare la mezzanità della sua fortuna ne difendersi dalla rea : nella qual cosa malageuolmente Torquato l' obediua, tirato altroue dal proprio genio, come ne' versi che seguono dietro a que' che detti habbiamo, si legge :

' His contempt of the Law, as well as of the Church, is rather strongly marked, as in his Verses *Ad Patrem*, ver. 71, &c. To the ecclesiastical lawyers he has shown no mercy ; but alludes to “ chancellours and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the *hell-pestering* rabble of sumners and apparitors,” in the very spirit of Quevedo. See his *Animadversions*, &c. *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 159, edit. 1698.

* Vita di Torq. Tasso, scritta da G. B. Manso, 12^{ma}. Venet. 1621, p. 32, 33.

Ad altri studi, onde poi speme hauea.
 Di ristorar d'auuersa sorte i danni,
 Ingrati studi, dal cui pondo oppresso,
 Giaccio ignoto ad altrui graue à me stesso."

Rinaldo, Canto xii. st. 90,

Dr. Newton thinks that he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; that he was for comprehending all sciences, but professing none. His conduct, however, on these occasions is a proof of the sincerity with which he had resolved to deliver his sentiments. "For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth."

Having taken the degree of 'M.A. in 1632, he left the university, and retired to his father's house in the country; who had now quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colnebrooke, in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided five years; in which time he not only, as he himself informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians, but is also believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Lycidas*. The pleasant retreat in the country excited his most poetick feelings; and he has proved himself able, in his pictures

^a Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 220, edit. 1698.

¹ He was admitted to the same degree at Oxford in 1635. See Wood, Fasti, vol. i. p. 262.

of rural life, to rival the works of Nature which he contemplated with delight. In the neighbourhood of Horton the Countess Dowager of Derby resided ; and the *Arcades* was performed by her grandchildren at this seat, called Harefield-place. It seems to me, that Milton intended a compliment to his fair neighbour in his *L'Allegro* ;

“ Towers and battlements it sees
“ Bosom'd high in tufted trees,
“ Where perhaps some Beauty lies,
“ The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes.”

The woody scenery of [†] Harefield, and the personal accomplishments of the Countess, are not unfavourable to this supposition ; which, if admitted, tends to confirm the opinion, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were composed at Horton.

The Mask of *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, were certainly produced under the roof of his father. It may be observed that, after his retirement to private study, he paid great attention, like his master Spenser, to the Italian school of poetry. Dr. Johnson remarks, that his acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by the mixture of longer and shorter verses in *Lycidas*, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry. In *Comus* also the sweet rhythm and cadence of the Italian language are no less observable. I must here mention that the house, in which Milton

[†] See Lysons's *Middlesex*, 1800. *Harefield*, p. 108.

drew such enchanting scenes, was about the year 1798 pulled down; and that, during his residence at Horton, he had occasionally taken lodgings in London, in order to cultivate musick and mathematicks, to meet his friends from Cambridge, and to indulge his passion for books.

It seems to have been the notion, however, of the late Sir William Jones, that we are indebted, not to Horton, but to Forest Hill, for Milton's descriptive pictures of the country. That accomplished scholar has thus delivered his opinion in a letter to Lady Spencer, dated from Oxford, Sept. 7, 1769.

“^m The necessary trouble of correcting the first printed sheets of my history, prevented me to-day from paying a proper respect to the memory of Shakspeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was resolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet; and set out in the morning in company with a friend to visit a place, where Milton spent some part of his life, *and where, in all probability, he composed several of his earliest productions.* It is a small village on a pleasant hill, about three miles from Oxford, called Forest Hill, because it formerly lay contiguous to a forest, which has since been cut down. The poet chose this place of retirement after his first marriage, and he describes

¹ As I was obligingly informed by letter in 1808 from the Rector of Horton.

^m Lord Teignmouth's *Life of Sir William Jones*, 8vo. edit. p. 83.

the beauties of his retreat, in that fine passage of his *L'Allegro* :

“ Sometime walking, not unseen,
“ By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,—
“ While the plowman near at hand,
“ Whistles o’er the furrow’d land,
“ And the milk-maid singeth blithe,
“ And the mower whets his sithe;
“ And every shepherd tells his tale
“ Under the hawthorn in the dale.
“ Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
“ Whilst the landskip round it measures;
“ Russet lawns, and fallows gray,
“ Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
“ Mountains, on whose barren breast
“ The labouring clouds do often rest;
“ Meadows trim with daisies pide,
“ Shallow brooks, and rivers wide:
“ Towers and battlements it sees
“ Bosom’d high in tufted trees—
“ Hard by, a cottage chimney smoaks,
“ From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

“ It was neither the proper season of the year, nor time of the day, to hear all the rural sounds, and see all the objects mentioned in this description; but, by a pleasing concurrence of circumstances, we were saluted, on our approach to the village, with the musick of the mower and his scythe; we saw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milk-maid returning from her country employment.

“ As we ascended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable stillness and natural simplicity

of the whole scene, gave us the highest pleasure. We at length reached the spot, *whence Milton undoubtedly took most of his images*; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a most extensive prospect on all sides: the distant mountains that seemed to support the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly shaded with trees of the finest verdure, and partly raised above the groves that surrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyish colour, where the sheep were feeding at large, in short, the view of the streams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a single useless or idle word in the above-mentioned description, but that it was a most exact and lively representation of nature. Thus will this fine passage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactness. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthusiasm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

“ The poet’s house was close to the church; the greatest part of it has been pulled down; and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that several papers in Milton’s own hand were found by the gentleman who was last in possession of the estate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them shewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleased with another who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

“ It must not be omitted, that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are so elegantly described in the *Penseroso*. Most of the cottage windows are overgrown with sweet-briars, vines, and honey-suckles; and, that Milton’s habitation had the same rustick ornament, we may conclude from his description of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

“ Through the sweet-briar or the vine,
“ Or the twisted eglantine;

for it is evident, that he meant a sort of honey-suckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly used for the sweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the same couplet.

“ If ever I pass a month or six weeks at Oxford in the summer, I shall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable mansion, and to make a festival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the most perfect scholar, as well as the sublimest poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be less splendid, but more sincere and respectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon.”

If Milton resided at Forest Hill, it must have been at a time far distant from the composition of *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. The tradition that he did reside at this beautiful and beautifully described village, is indeed “ general; though none of

▪ Madame du Bocage, in her entertaining *Letters concerning*

his biographers assert the circumstance. But Sir William Jones represents him to have chosen this place of retirement, *after his first marriage*. Now Milton, we find, was not married before 1643, at which time he was in his thirty-fifth year; when, about Whitsuntide or a little after, "he took a journey," says his nephew Phillips, "into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reason; or that it was more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married man that went out a batchelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of *Foresthil*, near Shotover, in Oxfordshire." Anthony Wood relates also, that Milton courted, married, and brought his wife to his house in London, *in one month's time*; and that she was very young. She continued, however, but a few weeks with her husband, and ^p returned to Forest Hill. Milton, as we shall presently see, disdained to follow her thither. After their reconciliation, it is possible that he might revisit the dwelling from which he had brought her, even before the seizure of it by the rebels in 1646.

England, &c. relates that, visiting, in June 1750, Baron Schutz and Lady at their house near Shotover Hill, "they shewed me from a small eminence *Milton's house*, to which I bowed with all the reverence with which that poet's memory inspires me."

^o Life of Milton, p. xxii.

^p See Mr. Warton's note on the Nuncupative Will of Milton, in this account of the poet's Life, relating to Forest Hill; and also the documents in regard to Mr. Powell's property there, and in the neighbourhood, now first given, in a subsequent portion of these pages, from his Majesty's State-Paper-Office.

Then too, in order to some arrangement of her loyal father's affairs, (for in those affairs he will soon be found to have been concerned with the ruling party,) it is indeed probable, that thither he might go for a short period. However, this concedes nothing to the assertion of *L'Allegro* being composed at Forest Hill. The early poems of Milton were written, I apprehend, long before the date of his first marriage; and, as I have already stated, most probably at Horton; a point in which Mr. Hayley concurs with me, at least in respect to *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. In the collection of these poems into a volume, which was published by Moseley in 1645, and of which more will presently be said, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* precede both *Lycidas* and *Comus* in the arrangement; both of which refer to matters of a much earlier date than 1640. But, not to insist on this circumstance, Moseley in his Address to the Reader, says, "The author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him." So that Milton, we see, had concealed these papers, till he was solicited to permit them, with *Lycidas* and *Comus* already printed, to appear in one volume. I must observe also that Milton tells his friend Rouse, in presenting to him this collection of his poems, that they were the productions of his 'early youth.

^a Milton's Poems, ed. 1645, 12^{mo}. sign. a. 4.

^r "Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,

"Fronde licet geminâ,

Milton, however, might compose at Forest Hill, or in the neighbourhood of it, as some have thought, part of his *later productions*. But sufficient authority is wanting, upon which to assert a fact so interesting. Mr. Warton indeed tells us, that he had seen in Mr. Powell's house at Forest Hill, many papers, which showed the active part he had taken in favour of the Royalists; but that Mr. Mickle, the ingenious translator of the *Lusiad*, *had there searched in vain for any of Milton's papers or letters*.

A pretended romantick circumstance in Milton's younger days has been publicly mentioned, as having formed the first impulse of his Italian journey, and as the parent too of some of his poetry! In the General Evening Post of 1789 it is believed to have appeared; in which, or in any other journal, however, I had not, before the first edition of this account was published, discovered it. The marvellous anecdote was afterwards obligingly transmitted to me, exactly as it appeared in a Newspaper, (the Italian citation only being here corrected,) of which the date does not appear; and for which I was indebted, through the late Mr. Bindley, to M. Whish, Esq.

“ Munditieque nitens non operosâ ;

“ Quem *manus attulit*

“ *Juvenilis olim,*

“ *Sedula tamen haud nimii poetæ,*” &c.

“ Believing that the following real circumstance has been but little noticed, we submit the particulars of it, as not uninteresting, to the attention of our readers :— It is well known that, in the bloom of youth, and when he pursued his studies at Cambridge, this poet was extremely beautiful. Wandering, one day, during the summer, far beyond the precincts of the University, into the country, he became so heated and fatigued, that, reclining himself at the foot of a tree to rest, he shortly fell asleep. Before he awoke, two ladies, who were foreigners, passed by in a carriage. Agreeably astonished at the loveliness of his appearance, they alighted, and having admired him (as they thought) unperceived, for some time, the youngest, who was very handsome, drew a pencil from her pocket, and having written some lines upon a piece of paper, put it with her trembling hand into his own. Immediately afterwards they proceeded on their journey. Some of his acquaintances, who were in search of him, had observed this silent adventure, but at too great a distance to discover that the highly-favoured party in it was our illustrious bard. Approaching nearer, they saw their friend, to whom, being awakened,

* This narrative is not singular: an exact and older counterpart may be found, as the late J. C. Walker, Esq. pointed out to me, in the Preface to *Poésies de Marguerite-Eleanore Clotilde, depuis Madame de Surville, Poète François du xv. Siecle.* Par. 1803. The anecdote has been elegantly versified in the *Original Sonnets, &c. of Anna Seward.*

they mentioned what had happened. Milton opened the paper, and, with surprise, read these verses from Guarini: [Madrigal. xii. ed. 1598.]

‘ *Occhi, stelle mortali,*
‘ *Ministre de miei mali,—*
‘ *Se chiusi m’ uccidete,*
‘ *Aperti che farete?*

“ ‘ Ye eyes! ye human stars! ye authors of my liveliest pangs! If thus, when shut, ye wound me, what must have proved the consequence had ye been open? Eager, from this moment, to find out the fair *incognita*, Milton travelled, but in vain, through every part of Italy. His poetick fervour became incessantly more and more heated by the idea which he had formed of his unknown admirer; and it is, in some degree, to *her* that his own times, the present times, and the latest posterity must feel themselves indebted for several of the most impassioned and charming compositions of the *Paradise Lost*.”

On the death of his mother in 1637, Milton prevailed with his father to permit him to visit the continent. This permission Mr. Hayley supposes to have been “ the more readily granted, as one of his motives for visiting Italy was to form a collection of Italian musick.” His nephew Phillips indeed relates, that, while at Venice, he shipped a parcel of curious and rare books which he had collected in

his travels; particularly a chest or two of choice musick-books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy. Having obtained some directions for his travels from Sir Henry Wotton, to whom he had communicated his earnest desire of seeing foreign countries, he went in 1638, attended with a single servant, to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he was introduced to Grotius. Of this interview, although the numerous letters of Grotius afford no trace, Milton's nephew gives the following account; Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth and the high commendations he had heard of him.

Having been presented, by Lord Scudamore, with letters of recommendation to the English merchants in the several places through which he intended to travel, he went, after staying a few days in Paris, directly to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. The delights of Florence detained him there two months. His compositions and conversation were so much admired, that he was a most welcome guest in the academies, (as in Italy the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons were denominated,) held in that city. He has affectionately recorded the names of these Italian

“Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frescobalde, Cul-

friends; and has expressed his obligations to their honourable distinctions. Dati^u presented him with a Latin eulogy; and Francini with an Italian ode. A few years since, Mr. Brand accidentally discovered on a book-stall, a manuscript which he purchased, entitled *La Tina*, by Antonio Malatesti, not yet enumerated, * Mr. Warton says, among Milton's friends. It is dedicated by the author to John Milton while at Florence. Mr. Brand gave it to Mr. Hollis, who, in 1758, sent it together with Milton's works, both in poetry and prose, and his Life by Toland, to the Academy Della Crusca. The manuscript, as Mr. Warton observes, would have been a

telline, Bommatthæe, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam apud me semper gratam atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit." Defens. Sec. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 96, edit. 1698. It is to one of these friends that he professes his love of the Italian language. "Ego certè istis utrisque linguis [Greek and Latin] non extremis tantummodò labris madidus; sed, siquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum *Dantem* et *Petrarcam*, *aliosque vestros complusculos*, libentè et cupidè comessatum ire." Epist. B. *Bommatthæo*. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 325, ed. 1698.

^u Rolli has made the following remark on the commendatory notices of his countrymen. "Osservissi nelle lodi dagl' Italiani date a questo grand Uomo; com' essi fin d' allora scorgevano in lui l' alta forza d' Ingegno che lo portava al primo Auge di gloria letteraria nel suo Secolo e nella sua Nazione; e gliene facevano gli avverati Prognostici." Vita di Milton, 1735. Dennis pays much compliment to the discernment of the Italians who discovered, while Milton was among them, his great and growing genius. See his Original Letters, &c. 1721, vol. i. p. 78, 80.

* Milton's Smaller Poems, 2d edit. p. 555. But Milton mentions this friend in a letter to Carlo Dati, *Epist. Fam. x.*

greater curiosity in England. And, since my account of the Life of the poet was published in 1809, I learn that it had found its way back to this country, had become the property of a gentleman whose books were not long since sold by Mr. Evans of Pall-Mall, and that the full title of the manuscript is, "La Tina, Equivoci Rusticali di Antonio Malatesti, coposti nella sua villa di Taiano il Settembre dell' anno 1637. Sonetti Cinquata. Dedicati all' *Ill^{mo}. Signore et Padrone Oss^{mo}. il Signor Giovanni Milton, Nobil' Inghilese.*"

Milton became acquainted also with the celebrated Galileo, whom many biographers have represented as in prison when the poet visited him. But Mr. Walker has informed me that Galileo was never a prisoner *in* the inquisition at Florence, although a prisoner *of* it. On his arrival at Rome on February the 10th, 1632, that illustrious philosopher had surrendered himself to Urban, who ordered him to be confined for his philosophical heresy in the palace of the Trinità de' Monti. Here he remained five months. Having retracted his opinion, he was dismissed from Rome; and the house of Monsignor Piccolomini in Sienna was assigned to him as his prison. About the beginning of December, in 1633, he was liberated; and returned to the village of Belloguardo near Florence, whence he went to Arcetri, where, it is probable, he received the visit of the English bard. Milton himself has informed us that he had really seen Galileo; and Rolli, in his Life of

the poet, ' considers some ideas in the *Paradise Lost*, approaching towards the Newtonian philosophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his disciples.

From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he also stayed two months; feasting, as Dr. Newton well observes, both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities, of the city. It has been judiciously conjectured, that several of the immortal works of the finest painters and statuarys may be traced in Milton's poetry. They are supposed by Mr. Hayley to have had considerable influence in attaching his imagination to our first parents. "He had most probably contemplated them," the elegant writer continues, "not only in the colours of Michael Angèlo, who decorated Rome with his picture of the creation, but in the marble of Bandinelli, who had executed two large statues of Adam and Eve, which, though they were far from satisfying the taste of connoisseurs, might stimulate even by their imperfections the genius of a poet." The description of the creation in the third book of *Paradise Lost*, (ver. 708, 719,) is supposed by Mr. Walker to be copied from the same subject as

' "In Firenze certamente egli apprese dagli Scritti e dalle Massime del Galileo invalorite già ne' di lui Seguaci, quelle Nozioni filosofiche sparse poi nel Poema, che tanto si uniformano al Sistema del Cavalier Newton." Vita, &c. 1735.

² Hist. Mem. on Italian Tragedy, p. 166.

treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican, called "la Bibbia di Raffaello." There are indeed several interesting pictures relating to Adam and Eve in the Florence collection, together with "the fall of Lucifer" supposed to be the work of Michael Angelo, which Milton might have also seen. Mr. Dunster ingeniously ^a conjectures the *Paradise Regained* to have been enriched by the suggestions of Salvator Rosa's masterly painting of *The Temptation*. The genius of Milton seems indeed to have resembled more particularly that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it shows a strong coincidence of taste in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly struck with Dante; and that he is said to have ^b sketched with a pen, on the margin of his copy of the *Inferno*, every striking scene of the terrible and the pathetick; but this valuable curiosity was unfortunately lost in a shipwreck. The learned author of "Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homere, et de l'Eneide de Virgile," was never more mistaken than in supposing the *Paradise Lost* incapable of supplying an artist with scenes as graceful and sublime as can be met with in the poems of the Grecian and Roman bards: for, in the words of Mr. Hayley, there is no charm exhibited by painting, which Milton's poetry has failed to equal, as far as analogy between the

^a Addition to his edit. of *Par. Reg.* 1800.

^b See "A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch, 1790," p. 31.

different arts can extend. Indeed the numerous exercises for the painter's skill, which Milton's works afford, have, in later times, commanded due attention; and Fuseli, by his happy sketches from such originals, has taught us how to admire poetry and painting "breathing *united force*."

At Rome Milton was honoured with the acquaintance of several learned men, more especially with that of Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library. By him he was introduced to Cardinal Barberini, the patron Cardinal of the English; who, at an entertainment of musick, performed at his own ex-

* I learn from a manuscript of Dr. Bargrave, (preserved in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral,) that, "at Rome, euery forraigne Nation hath some Cardinall or other to be their *peculiar Gardian*: when I was 4 seuerall times at Rome," Dr. Bargrave says, "this Cardinall Barberini was *Gardian to the English*." He adds, "When I was at Rome with the Earle of Chesterfield, then under my tuition, 1650, at a yeare of Jubilee, this Cardinall (formerly kinde to me) would not admitt my lord or myselfe to any audience, though, in eleuen months time, tryed seuerall times; and I heard that it was, because that we had recommendatory letters from our Queen Mother to Cardinall Capponius, and another from the Dutchess of Sauoy to Cardinall Penzirolo; and no letters to him, *who was the English (I say REBELLS) Protector*; and that we visited them before him."

† Mr. Warton says, that Milton heard the accomplished Leonora Baroni sing at the concerts of this Cardinal, and that there is a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish poems, printed at Rome, in praise of this lady. I have sought in vain for this curious volume; as have two or three literary friends, both abroad and at home. I must observe however that this book is described, in the Barberini collection, as printed at Bracciano. Index Bib. Barberin. fol. 1681. tom. i. p. 114.

pence, waited for him at the door, and condescended to lead him into the assembly. Milton did not forget the extraordinary civilities of this accomplished Cardinal. In thanking Holstenius afterwards for all his favours to him, he adds "De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si *Eminentissimum* Cardinalem quantâ potest observantiâ meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes artes liberales egregiè comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos versatur." At Rome also, Selvaggi and Salsilli praised the attainments of Milton in those verses, which are prefixed to his Latin poetry.

* Lit. Lucæ Holstenio, dat. Florent. Mart. 30. 1639, Prose-Works; vol. iii. p. 327, edit. 1698.

† Milton, it may be observed, is careful not to omit the title first applied to the Cardinals by Barberini: since whose time, Dr. Bargrave relates, "the title of Padrone continueth to the Pope's chiefe Nephew, and the title of *Eminenza* to all the Cardinals. Indeed the authority which Urban VIII. gave to Francisco [Barberini, his eldest Nephew,] was not ordinary; for he thought it not enough to give the powre, except he gave it the vanity and title of Padrone, that is, Master and Lord, a title never heard of before at Rome. But Urban had nothing in his mouth but the Cardinal Padrone: Where is the Cardinal Padrone? Call the Cardinal Padrone: Speake to the Cardinal Padrone: Nothing was heard of but the Cardinal Padrone; which the ambassadors of Princes did not like, saying they had no Padrone but the Pope himselfe. However their [the Barberinis'] ambition stayed not at this title: they tooke exceptions of the quality of *Illustrissimo*, with which hitherto the Cardinals had bin content for so many ages. The title of Excellency belonging to soveraine Princes in Italy, they strove to find out something that should not be inferior to it; and, canvassing many titles, at length they pitched upon *Eminency*, which the Princes hearing of, they took upon themselves the title of Highness." MS. as before.

He next removed to Naples, in company with a hermit; to whom Milton owed his introduction to the patron of Tasso, Manso, marquis of Villa, a nobleman distinguished by his virtue and his learning. To this eminent person he was obliged in many important instances; and, as a testimony of gratitude, he presented to him, at his departure from Naples, his beautiful eclogue, entitled *Mansus*; which Dr. Johnson acknowledges must have raised in the noble Italian a very high opinion of English elegance and literature. Manso likewise has addressed a distich to Milton, which is prefixed to the Latin poems.

From Naples Milton intended to proceed to Sicily and Athens: "Countries," as Mr. Warton has excellently observed, "connected with his finer feelings, interwoven with his poetical ideas, and impressed upon his imagination by his habits of reading, and by long and intimate converse with the Grecian literature.. But so prevalent were his patriotick attachments, that, hearing in Italy of the commencement of the national quarrel, instead of proceeding forward to feast his fancy with the contemplation of scenes familiar to Theocritus and Homer, the pines of Etna and the pastures of Peneus, he abruptly changed his course, and hastily returned home to plead the cause of ideal liberty. Yet in this chaos of controversy, amidst endless disputes concerning religious and po-

* Preface to his Edition of the Smaller Poems.

litical reformation, independency, prelacy, tithes, toleration, and tyranny, he sometimes seems to have heaved a sigh for the peaceable enjoyments of lettered solitude, for his congenial pursuits, and the more mild and ingenuous exercises of the muse. In a Letter to Henry Oldenburgh, written in 1654, he says, ^h ‘Hoc cum libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, *diversis* longè et *amœnioribus* omninò me studiis intentum, ad se rapuit *invitum*.’ And in one of his prose-tracts, ⁱ ‘I may one day hope to have ye again in a still time, when there shall be no Chiding. Not in these Noises.’ And in another, having mentioned some of his schemes for epick poetry and tragedy, ‘of highest hope and hardest attempting,’ he adds, ^k ‘With what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitari-nesse, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightfull studies,’ &c. He still, however, obstinately persisted in what he thought his duty. But surely these speculations should have been consigned to the enthusiasts of the age, to such restless and wayward spirits as Prynne, Hugh Peters, Goodwyn, and Baxter. Minds less refined, and faculties less elegantly cultivated, would have been better employed in this task :

^h Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 330, ed. 1698.

ⁱ Apol. Smectymn. 1642.

^k Church-Governm. B. ii. 1641.

- ‘ Coarse complexions,
‘ And cheeks of sorry grain, will serve to ply
‘ The sampler, and to tease the huswife’s wool:
‘ What need a vermeil-tinctur’d lip for that,
‘ Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn?’—”

He returned by the way of Rome, though some mercantile friends had acquainted him that the Jesuits there were forming plots against him, for the liberty of his conversation upon matters of religion. He paid little attention to the advice of his friend Sir Henry Wotton, “to keep his thoughts close, and his countenance open.” Nor did the liberal and polished Manso omit to acquaint him, at his departure, that he would have shown him more considerable favours, if his conduct had been less unguarded. He is supposed to have given offence by having visited Galileo. And he had been with difficulty restrained from publicly asserting, within the verge of the Vatican, the cause of Protestantism. While Milton, however, defended his principles without hypocrisy, he appears not to have courted contest. When he was questioned as to his faith, he was too honest to conceal his sentiments, and too dauntless to relinquish them. He staid at Rome two months more without fear, and indeed without molestation. From Rome he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with the most lively marks of affection by his friends, and made a second residence of two months. From Florence he visited Lucca: Then crossing the Apennine, he passed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, in which city he spent a month. From

Venice he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman, to Geneva. After spending some time in this city, where he became acquainted with Giovanni Deodati, and Frederick Spanheim, he returned through France, and came home after an absence of fifteen months. Mr. Hayley has forcibly observed, that, "in the relation which Milton himself gives of his return, the name of Geneva recalling to his mind one of the most slanderous of his political adversaries, he animates his narrative by a solemn appeal to Heaven on his unspotted integrity; he protests that, during his residence in foreign scenes, where licentiousness was universal, his own conduct was perfectly irreproachable. I dwell the more zealously on whatever may elucidate the moral character of Milton; because, even among those who love and revere him, the splendour of the poet has in some measure eclipsed the merit of the man; but in proportion as the particulars of his life are studied with intelligence and candour, his virtue will become, as it ought to be, the friendly rival of his genius, and receive its due share of admiration and esteem."

His return happened about the time of the King's second expedition against the Scots, in which his forces under lord Conway were defeated by general Lesley, in the month of August 1639. In a Bible, ¹ said to have been once in his possession, (probably

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, July 1792, p. 615. And in 1809 I

the constant companion of his travels,) is a manuscript remark, dated 1639 at Canterbury city, which may serve to show the powerful impression made on his mind, (admitting the authenticity of the remark,) by this eventful period. "This year of very dreadful commotion, and I weene will ensue murderous times of conflicting fight." The date of the year and place may lead us to suppose that, having landed at Dover, he was on his return from his travels to London. The gentleman, who communicated the intelligence of this Bible to the publick, and had been indulged with a sight of it, selected other marginal observations which appeared to him remarkable; among which is the following poetical note on I. Maccab. xiv. 16. "Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry :"

" When that day of death shall come,
" Then shall nightly shades prevaile;
" Soon shall love and musick faile;
" Soone the fresh turfe's tender blade
" Shall flourish on my sleeping shade."

The authenticity of the remarks, and of the Bible having belonged to Milton, has indeed been questioned; but has been defended not without considerable force, by the communicator himself, and by

was informed, by the obliging information of Mr. Nichols, that this Bible was then in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, son of the late Archdeacon Blackburn who wrote the Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton, 12^{mo}. Lond. 1780.

other writers in the valuable miscellany, in which the information has been given; to the demonstrations and conjectures of whom I refer the reader".

Before we attend to the busier scenes of life, in which Milton, now returned to his native country, became engaged; let me be permitted to lament that he never executed the scheme, which he once proposed to himself in his animated lines to Manso, of "embellishing original tales of chivalry, of clothing the fabulous achievements of the early British kings and champions in the gorgeous trappings of epick attire." The delight which he had derived from the military tales of Italy now perhaps sunk into neglect; though never into forgetfulness. In his latest poems he seems to look back, not without an eye of fond regard, to the more distinguished compositions of this kind; and certainly with ample testimony of the attention, with which he had studied (to use his own words) "those lofty fables and romances that recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood".

At his return he heard of the death of his beloved friend and schoolfellow, Charles Deodati. And he lamented his loss in that elegant eclogue, the *Epi-*

^m Gent. Mag. Sept. 1792, p. 789. Oct. 1792, p. 900. Feb. 1793, p. 106. And March 1800, p. 199.

ⁿ See Mr. Warton's Preface to the Smaller Poems of Milton.

^o See particularly Par. Lost, B. i. 579, &c. Par. Reg. B. iii. 336, &c.

taphium Damonis, which Mr. Warton has successfully defended against the cold remark of Dr. Johnson.

He now hired a lodging in St. Bride's Church-yard, Fleet-street; where he undertook the education of his sister's sons, John and Edward Phillips, "the first ten, the other nine years of age; and in a year's time made them capable of interpreting a Latin author at sight." Finding his house not sufficiently large for his library and furniture, he took a handsome ^a garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, that he might avoid the noise and disturbance of the street. Here he received into his house a few more pupils, the sons of his most intimate friends; and he proceeded, with cheerfulness, in the noblest employment of mankind, that of instructing others in knowledge and virtue. "As he was severe on one hand," Aubrey says, "so he was most familiar and free in his conversation to

^p Aubrey's Life of Milton.

^a From the Note signed H. in Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, vol. i. p. 130, it appears, that there were many of these *garden houses*, i. e. houses situated in a garden, especially in the north suburbs of London; and that the term is technical, frequently occurring in Wood's *Athen. and Fast. Oxon.* The annotator adds, that the meaning may be collected from the article Thomas Farnabe, the famous schoolmaster; of whom the author says, that he taught in Goldsmith's-rents, in Cripplegate parish, behind Redcross-street, where were large gardens and handsome houses: Milton's house in Jewin-street was also a *garden-house*, as were indeed most of his dwellings after his settlement in London.

those whom he must serve in his way of education." His younger nephew has related the method of his instruction, and the books employed. Of the Latin, the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus, the physician; a great part of Pliny's Natural History; the Architecture of Vitruvius; the Stratagems of Frontinus; and the philosophical poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Hesiod; Aratus's *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*; Dionysius Afer *de situ orbis*; Oppian's *Cynegeticks* and *Halieuticks*; Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war, continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonauticks*; and in prose Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, and of the Education of Children; Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*; Ælian's *Tacticks*; and the *Stratagems of Polyænus*. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues impede the cultivation of the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriack, so far as to go through the *Pentateuch*, to make a good entrance into the *Targum* or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriack Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French; and a knowledge of mathematicks and astronomy. The Sunday exercise of his pupils was, principally, to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it: to which was added the writing, from his dictation, some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines who had written upon the subject.

From the rigid attention which such a system required he occasionally relaxed; and once in three or four weeks the hard study and spare diet, of which he was an eminent example to his pupils, gave way to the regale of a gaudy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance; "the chief of whom, his nephew says, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, the beaus of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days!" These were the seasons in which Milton "resolved to drench in mirth that, after, no repenting draws," and in which he would not forfeit his pretensions of admission into the train of the true Euphrosyne:

— "In thy right hand lead with thee
 "The mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty;
 "And, if I give thee *honour due*,
 "Mirth, admit me of thy crew;
 "To live with her, and live with thee,
 "In *unreproved pleasures free*."

It seems uncandid in Dr. Johnson to have ridiculed the academick institutions of Milton with the title of the "*wonder-working academy*," because no man very eminent for knowledge proceeded from it, and because Phillips's small history of poetry, as he inaccurately states, is its only genuine product. The merit of Milton's intention cannot be denied, however the mode of education, which he pursued, may perhaps be justly thought impracticable. His nephew, with great spirit and affection, observes that, if his

* See this point further discussed in the present Account.

pupils * “ had received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the Instructor was endued with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved ! The scholars might in some degree, have come near to the equalling of the Master, or at least have in some sort made good what he seems to predict in the close of an elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his sister’s children, a daughter, who died in her infancy :

“ Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,
“ Her false-imagin’d loss cease to lament,
“ And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild ;
“ This if thou do, he will an offspring give,
“ That, to the world’s last end, shall make thy name to live.”

But, though thus employed in the education of youth, Milton now began to sacrifice his time to the harsh and crabbed employment of controversy. In 1641 the clamour ran high against the bishops, and in that clamour he joined, by publishing a treatise *Of Reformation*, in two books ; being willing to assist the Puritans in their designs against the established Church, who, as he informs us in his *Second Defence*, were inferiour to the bishops in learning. We are to recollect that Milton had before attacked the episcopal clergy, and had even anticipated the execution of Archbishop Laud, in his *Lycidas*, written before he was twenty-nine years

* Life of Milton, p. xix.

old. The antipathy, then clothed in an allegorick veil, now burst into expressions of elaborate and undisguised invective. Of the innovations, caused in the ceremonies of the Church by Laud, and which excited the animadversion of Milton, it may not be improper here to observe, that it has been ' said by a great scholar, and most excellent historian in ecclesiastical no less than in civil matters, that every ceremony, of which Laud enforced the observation, is to be found in the ritual of Andrewes, bishop of Winchester, who was styled the antipapistical prelate. Laud, in his speech delivered at the Star-Chamber when he passed judgement on Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, and published in 1637, thus vindicates himself, p. 4, &c. " I can say it clearly and truly as in the presence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ professed, established, and maintained in this Church of England. For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the externall worship of God in it, and the settling of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of *this malicious storme, which hath lowered so black upon me, and some of my brethren.* And in the meane time they, which are the only or the chief

* See the Europ. Magazine, vol. xxviii. p. 379.

innovators of the Christian world, having nothing to say, *accuse us of innovation*; they themselves and their complices in the meane time being the *greatest innovators* that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errours in the Church of Christ; but no men, in any age of it, have been *more guilty of innovation* than they, while themselves cry out against it: *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* And I said well, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For 'tis most apparent to any man that will not winke, that the *intention of these men, and their abettors, was and is to raise a sedition; being as great incendiaries in the State (where they get power) as they have ever been in the Church*; Novatian himselfe hardly greater. Our maine crime is (would they all speake out, as some of them do,) that we are bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men." To those, who would examine attentively the ecclesiastical controversy of this period, I recommend the perusal of the whole speech.

In 1641, the eloquent Hall, bishop of Norwich, having published an *Humble Remonstrance* in favour of Episcopacy, five ministers, under the title of *Smectymnus*, a word formed from the first letters of their " names, wrote an *Answer*; of which Arch-

* Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's preceptor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, the initial letter of whose Christian name is quaintly divided, in

bishop Usher published a *Confutation*. To this *Confutation* Milton replied in his Treatise *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*. And, although he has ungracefully classed the archbishop's *Confutation* with "some late treatises, *one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bishop of Armagh,*" he has, in his next publication, complimented the excellent prelate for his learning. With such an adversary as Usher, indeed, which of the *Smectymnuans* would have dared to cope? This enterprise none *could* partake with Milton. Vehement as he was in his reply to the two bishops, he also enlarged this topick of puritanical zeal in another performance, entitled *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy*, in two books. And, bishop Hall having published *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*, he wrote *Animadversions* upon it. These treatises were the fruits of his prejudice against the established Church in 1641. From the third treatise, *The Reason of Church Government*, we derive some knowledge of his literary projects, and of the opinion he entertained of his own abilities; expressed, as Dr. Johnson well observes, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence; with a promise to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country. The whole passage, from which Dr. Johnson has cited a small part as a fervid, pious, and rational pledge of the *Paradise Lost*, however well known to the admirers of

order to produce this celebrated word! This is to be enumerated among the few playful tricks of fanaticism.

the poet, is too sublime and interesting to be read again and again without renewed and encreased delight.

“ * Time serves not now, and, perhaps, I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epick form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief, model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed; which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art: and lastly, what king or knight, before the Conquest, might be chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature, and the emboldening of art, aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our ancient stories. Or whether those dramattick constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more

* Introduction to the second book.

doctrinal and exemplary to a nation.—Or, if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnifick odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyrick poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, besides the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightyness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought, with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that, which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things, with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe, teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue,

through all the instances of example, with such delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon Truth herself, unless they see her elegantly drest, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed.—

“ The thing which I had to say, and those intentions, which have lived within me ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and fore-dated discovery; and the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man’s to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and

sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases : to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs ; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much before hand ; but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still air of delightful studies."

In 1642 he closed the preceding controversy with an *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in answer to the *Confutation of his Animadversions*, written, as he supposed, by bishop Hall or his son. He thought all this while, says Dr. Newton, that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty. Yet he has confessed, that he was not disposed to " ' this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferiour to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have

' Introduction to the second Book of his Reason of Church Government.

the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand." *This left hand*, indeed, has recorded many sentiments which we must reject, and many expressions which we must lament. By his asperity the repulsive form of puritanism is rendered more hideous and disgusting, and the cause which he would support is weakened. But the general character of his prose-works is not yet before us.

SECTION II.

*From his Marriage to the time of his being appointed
Secretary for Foreign Tongues.*

AT Whitsuntide in 1643, and in his thirty-fifth year, (as I have before observed,) Milton married Mary, the daughter of Richard Powell, a gentleman who resided at Forest Hill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, and was a justice of the peace for the county. He brought his bride to London; who, after living only a few weeks with him, obtained his consent to accept the invitation of her friends to spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. He gave her permission to stay till Michaelmas; but she declined to return at the expiration of that period. The visit to her friends was, in fact, only a pretence for conjugal desertion. This desertion has been imputed, by Phillips, to the different principles of the two families. Her relations, he tells us, "being generally addicted to the Cavalier party, and some of them possibly engaged in the King's service, (who by this time had his head quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success,) they began to repent them of having matched the eldest

daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that Court should come to flourish again: however, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again after such a repulse." The same biographer intimates, that she was averse to the philosophical life of Milton, and sighed for the mirth and jovialness to which she had been accustomed in Oxfordshire. And Aubrey relates, that she " * was brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment, as dancing, &c.; and, when she came to live with her husband, she found it solitary, no company came to her, and she often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irksome to her, and so she went to her parents. He sent for her home after some time. As for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicion of that; nor had he of that any jealousy."

It has escaped the biographers of the poet, however, that, while Milton ingenuously admits " * that every motion of a jealous mind should not be regarded," he has not failed to enumerate, among the reasons which are said to have warranted divorce in elder times, "*the wilfull haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the*

* Life, as before.

* Doct. and Discip. of Divorce, B. ii. Ch. xviii.

lying forth of her house without probable cause, the *frequenting of theatres against her husband's mind,*" &c. If this be not pointed directly at the conduct of his wife, the following passage certainly exhibits his indignation at her continuance under her *father's* roof, while at the same time it confirms Aubrey's account that he did not suspect her as faithless to his bed. " ' He [Grotius] shews also, that fornication is taken in Scripture for *such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband,* and proves it out of Judges xix. 2, where the Levite's wife is said to have played the whore against him; which Josephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret *only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband:* and to this I add that Kimchi, and the two other rabbies who gloss the text, are in the same opinion. Ben Gersom reasons, that had it been whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have disdained to fetch her again. *And this I shall contribute, that had it been whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to than to her FATHER'S HOUSE,* it being so infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is understood for *stubborn disobedience against the husband, and not for adultery.*"

Milton sent for his wife, however, in vain. As all

* Doct. and Discip. of Divorce, B. ii. Ch. xviii.

his letters, desiring her to return, were unanswered ; so the messenger, whom he afterwards employed for the same purpose, was dismissed from her father's house with contempt. He resolved therefore, without further ceremony, to repudiate her ; and, in defence of his resolution, he published four treatises, the two first in 1644, the two last in 1645. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce ; The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce ; Tetrachordon, or Expositions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage ;* and *Colasterion*. The last is a reply to the anonymous author of " An Answer to a Book, intituled *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women against Divorce. Wherein both Sexes are vindicated from all bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes whatsoever ; and the unsound principles of the Author are examined and fully confuted by Authority of Holy Scripture, the Laws of this Land, and sound Reason. Lond. 1644." This pamphlet was licensed and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a Presbyterian divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job ; whom Milton, in his reply, roughly stigmatizes with repeated charges of ignorance, as he also styles his antagonist " a serving-man both by nature and by function, an idiot by breeding, and a solicitor by presumption !" The application of these and similar terms, in the dispute, may remind us of the *elegant dialogue* between Nym and Pistol in Shaks-

peare's ^d King Henry the fifth : but there a wife retained, and not a wife repudiated, is the cause of so much eloquence !

There had been another tract written against Milton's doctrines, which he briefly notices at the beginning of his *Colasterion*, entitled "Divorce at pleasure." Nor was he inattentive to the remark of Dr. Featley, who in the Epistle Dedicatory to his "Dippers dipt," published in 1645, enumerates, among "the audacious attempts upon Church and State, a *Tractate of Divorce*, in which the bonds of marriage are let loose to inordinate lust, and putting away wives for many other causes besides that which our Saviour only approveth, namely, in case of adultery." Milton speaks contemptuously of the author as having written an "equivocating treatise," and as "diving the while himself with a more deep prelati- cal malignance against the present State and Church-government." Dr. Johnson and Mr. Warton are mistaken in supposing the new doctrine to have been unnoticed, or neglected : indeed the two Sonnets, which Milton wrote on the same subject, seem to discountenance the opinion. It certainly was received with ridicule, as we learn from Howel's "Letter to Sir Edward Spencer. But it gave rise to a band, not perhaps very formidable, who were called *Divorciers*, and even *Miltonists*. Pagitt, in his "De-

^d Act ii. Scene i.

^e Letters, 10th edit. p. 455.

scription of the Hereticks and Sectaries" of that period, notices the ' former sect with him, who wrote the *Tractate of Divorce*, at their head. The latter title occurs in " * The Epilogue, shewing the Parallell in two Poems, the Return, and the Restauration. Addressed to her Highnesse the Lady Elizabeth, by C[hristopher]. W[asse]. 1649." 8vo.

" Force can but in a Rape engage,
 " 'Tis choice must make it Marriage :
 " Hence a conveyance they contrive,
 " Which must on us their cause derive :

' Heresiography, &c. 1654, p. 129. See also Ibid. p. 77. And " A brief description &c. of Phanatiques in generall, 1660," p. 33.

* This book was obligingly pointed out to me by Thomas Park, Esq; to whom the literary world is indebted for some of the sweetest Sonnets in the English language. The same gentleman directed me to the following bitter application of Milton's doctrine to himself by G. S. in " Britain's Triumph, for her unparallel'd deliverance and her joyful celebrating the Proclamation of her most gracious incomparable king Charles the second &c. 1660." 4to. G. S. the author, after satirizing the members of the Rump Parliament, thus proceeds, p. 15.

" But who appears here with the curtain drawn ?
 " What, MILTON ! are you come to see the sight ?
 " Oh *Image-breaker* ! poor knave ! had he sawn
 " That which the fame of made him crye out-right,
 " He'ad taken counsel of Achitophell,
 " Swung himself weary, and so gone to hell.
 " This is a sure Divorce, and the best way ;
 " Seek, Sir, no further, now the trick is found,
 " To part a sullen knave from's wife, that day
 " He doth repent his choyce ; stab'd, hang'd, or drown'd,
 " Will make all sure and further good will bring,
 " The wretch will rail no more against his *King*."

" This must attaque, what holds out still,
 " And is impregnable, the Will.
 " This must enchant our conscious hands,
 " To slumber in like guilty bands,
 " While, like the froward *Miltonist*,
 " We our old nuptiall knot untwist :
 " And with the hands, late faith did joyn,
 " The bill of plain Divorce now signe."

It had been treated also as an " ^b error so gross as to need no other confutation," than the mere mention of it. But before these remarks had been made upon a doctrine, at which the shafts of ridicule as well as censure might indeed be fairly levelled, the innovation of the author had also been opposed from the pulpit. The presbyterian clergy had not only caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords, by whom however he was quickly dismissed ; but one of them, in a sermon before the Lords and Commons on a fast-day, had endeavoured in vain to excite their indignation against him. Milton notices this attack in the beginning of his *Tetrachordon*, and thanks the auditors for not repenting of what the preacher called their sin, the neglecting to brand

^b In " A Glasse for the Times, &c. With a briefe Collection of the Errors of our Times, and their Authors Names. Collected by T. C. a friend to Truth. Lond. 1648." 4to. Milton and his doctrine are noticed in p. 6. T. Forde, the dramatick writer, appears to have entertained no favourable opinion of *incompatibility of temper* being pretended as a reason for divorce. See his letter to T. C. apparently written at the time when Milton's treatise was first published, in the collection of his Letters, 8vo. Lond. 1660, p. 103—106.

his book with some mark of their displeasure. This opponent, who has been hitherto unnoticed, was Herbert Palmer, B.D. a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and parliamentary Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. "If any," says he to his judicial audience, "plead conscience for the lawfulness of *polygamy*; (or for *divorce* for other causes than

ⁱ I had examined many single sermons of this period, under the hope of discovering the author who had thus publicly attacked Milton; but without success. I was indebted to a liberal friend, the late James Bindley, Esq; for pointing out, after a long research also, this forgotten discourse; of which I give the title: "The Glasse of God's Providence towards his Faithfull Ones. Held forth in a Sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament at Margaret's Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644. being an extraordinary day of Humiliation. Wherein is discovered the great failings that the best are liable unto, &c. The whole is applyed specially to a more carefull observation of our late Covenant, and particularly against the ungodly toleration pleaded for *under pretence of Liberty of Conscience*. By Herbert Palmer, B.D." &c.

^k And yet it seems, in the *Confessio Fidei* of the Assembly of Divines published in 1656, that Milton's doctrine had not been entirely neglected. See Cap. xxiv. "*De Conjugio et Divortio*. §. 6. Quamvis ea sit hominis corruptio, ut proclivis sit ad excogitandum argumenta indebitè illos, quos Deus connubio junxit, dissociandi; nihilominus tamen *extra* adulterium ac *desertionem ita obstinatum ut cui nullo remedio nec ab ecclesia nec à magistratu civili subveniri possit*, sufficiens causa nulla esse potest conjugium dissolvendi." Conf. Fid. 12mo. Cantab. 1656, p. 65. I have been indebted to Mr. Octavius Gilchrist, the ingenious editor of bishop Corbet's poetry, for the notice of the following stroke of satire, evidently pointed at Milton, both in respect to this and to another subject, so late as in 1670, in the Preface to Echard's *Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion*; "I am not, I'll assure you, any of those occa-

Christ and his Apostles mention ; of which a *wicked booke is abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt, whose author hath been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves,*) or for liberty to marry incestuously, will you grant a toleration for all *this* ?" Milton now became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he before had favoured. Notwithstanding their opposition, however, he proceeded to illustrate his opinion more forcibly by paying his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, the daughter of one Dr. Davis, with a design to marry her ! But this desire of carrying his doctrine into practice was not countenanced by the lady. What is more remarkable, the proceeding contributed to effect a reconciliation with the discarded wife.

In the mean time, Milton pursued his studies with unabating vigour ; and, in 1644, at the request of his friend, Mr. Samuel¹ Hartlib, published his tractate *Of Education* ; or plan of academical institution : in which, as he expresses it, he leads his scholar from Lilly to his commencing master of arts. Mr. Warton

sional writers, that, missing preferment at the University, can presently write you *their new ways of education* ; or, being tormented with an ill-chosen wife, set forth *the Doctrine of Divorce* to be truly evangelical."

¹ Of this remarkable person the reader may find an account written by himself, in Kennet's Register, 1728, p. 808. See also Mr. Warton's first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 116, &c. A Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English biography.

observes that ^m Milton's plan has more of show than value. " ⁿ Education in England," Dr. Johnson has remarked, " has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect ; it gives too much to one side, and too little to the other ; it gives too little to literature." It is perhaps not generally known that Milton's treatise on this subject has been translated into French. The translator has bestowed much eulogium ^o upon the author. In the same year, Mil-

^m See his first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 117.

ⁿ Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. 1799, vol. iii. p. 382.

^o " Dans les tems que nous nous proposons de donner ces Lettres au Public, il nous en est tombé entre les mains *une de Milton*, qui n' a pas encore paru dans notre langue, &c.—Rien ne fait tant d' honneur à l' Angleterre que de voir que *le plus grand poëte*, et l' un des plus celebres philosophes [Locke], qu' elle ait eus, ont assez senti de quelle importance étoit l' éducation des enfans, pour s' en occuper serieusement.—Dans *cette Lettre* il est aisé de s' appercevoir que ç' a été un des plus sçavans hommes qui aient vécu. C'est par cette vaste érudition, joint à un heureux génie, qu' il est devenu le plus grand de tous les poëtes modernes. Aussi son *Paradis Perdu* n' est-il pas l' ouvrage de sa jeunesse : Peut-être alors en avoit-il conçu l' idée ; mais avant que de l' exécuter, il avoit vécu avec les hommes, il avoit connu l' usage et la puissance des passions, il avoit l' esprit orné de la connoissance de toutes les sciences et de tous les arts. Sans examiner si la maniere d' élever la jeunesse que Milton propose est aisée à réduire en pratique ; il est sur que son plan est rempli de vûes très-fines et très-sages, et qu' il paroît contenir tout ce qui est nécessaire pour former un citoyen utile à sa patrie et agréable à la société." Lettres sur L'Education des Princes. Avec une Lettre de Milton, &c. 1746. Preface, pp. lxxv. lxxix.

ton published his *Areopagitica, a Speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing*: perhaps the best vindication, as Dr. Newton observes, that has been published at any time, or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press. But the candid critick adds, that it produced not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licensing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates.

His father having come to live with him, after the surrender of Reading to the Earl of Essex in 1643, and his scholars now encreasing, he required a larger house; before his removal to which, he was surprised, at one of his usual visits to a relation in the lane of St. Martin's-le-grand, to see his wife come from another room, and beg forgiveness on her knees. The interview on her part had been concerted. The declining state of the royal cause, and consequently of her father's family, as well as the intelligence of Milton's determination to marry again, caused her friends to employ every method to re-unite the insulted husband and disobedient wife. It was contrived that she should be ready, when he came, in another apartment. Fenton, in his elegant sketch of the poet's life, judiciously remarks, that " ^p it is not

^p Prefixed to his edition of *Paradise Lost*, first published in 1725.

to be doubted but an interview of that nature, so little expected, must wonderfully affect him : and perhaps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetick scene in *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve addresses herself to Adam for pardon and peace. At the intercession of his friends who were present, after a short reluctance, he generously sacrificed all his resentment to her tears :

“ Soon his heart relented
 “ Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
 “ Now at his feet submissive in distress.

And after this re-union so far was he from retaining an unkind memory of the provocations which he had received from her ill conduct, that, when the king's cause was entirely oppressed, and her father who had been active in his loyalty was exposed to sequestration, Milton received both him and his family to protection and free entertainment, in his own house, till their affairs were accommodated by his interest in the victorious faction.” Mr. Powell, however, seems to have smarted severely for his attachment to the royal party. I observe, first, in the “ Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that have compounded for their Estates,” printed at London in 1655, that he had been thus branded as well as fined : “ Richard Powel, *Delinquent*, per John Pye, Esq; 576*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*” And his house had been before seized by the rebels. But a full account of his delinquency and of his composition, and of the share

in both which consequently was transferred upon his widow and upon Milton himself, has been found in the First and Second Series of Royalists' Composition-Papers in his Majesty's State-Paper-Office; which presents indeed a most curious portion of domestick history, combined with publick transactions, in regard to the family of the poet's first wife, the sufferings and losses of the loyal parent, and a debt which was due to Milton. Of the following documents, which till now have never met the publick eye, the account consists; commencing in the year 1646.

1. " Richard Powell of Forrest hill in the County of Oxon, Esq.

" His Delinquency, that he deserted his dwellinge and went to Oxford, and lived there whiles it was a Garrison holden for the Kinge against the Parliamente, and was there at the tyme of the Surrender, and to have the benefit of those Articles as by Sir Thomas Fairfax's certificate of the 20 of June 1646 doth appeare.

" He hath taken the Nationall Covenant before William Barton, Minister of John Zacharies, the 4th of December 1646, and the Negative Oath heere the same daye.

" He compounds upon a Peticuler delivered in, under his hand, by which he doth submitt to such Fine &c. and by which it doth appeare :

¹ Second Series of Royalists' Comp. Papers, vol. xxi. No. 1137.

“ That he is seized in Fee to him and his Heirs in possession, of and in the Tythes of Whatley in the Parish of Cudsdén, and other Lands and Tenements there of the yeerely value before theis troubles, 40%.

“ That he is owner and possessed of a personall Estate in goods, and there was oweinge unto him in good debts, in all amountinge unto 600% ; and there is 400% more in Tymber, which is alledged to be questionable.

“ That he is indebted by Statutes and Bonds 1500%.

“ He hath lost by reason of theis warrs 3000%.

“ He craves to be allowed 400% which by a demise and lease dated the 30th of January 1642, of the lands and tenements aforesaid, is secured to be paid unto one Thomas Ashworth, gentleman, and is deposed to be still oweinge.

(Signed) “ D. WATKINS.

“ 8 December, 1646. Price at 2 yeeres value, 180%.”

The case of Mr. Powell, who died in 1646-7, was not entirely settled, it seems, so late as in 1653. For the next document details the proceedings upon it in that year.

2. “ Accordinge to your order of 30 August 1653 upon the order of judgment of the Court of Articles of the 15th of July, 1653, in the case (heard 4^o May, 1654,) of Anne Powell, widow, relict and administratrix of Richard Powell, late of Forrest hill, in the

county of Oxford, Esq. deceased, whereby it is referred to me to state the case touching the fine imposed on Mr. John Pye, upon the act of the first of August, 1650, for the leasehold land of the said Richard Powell, and report the same in order to the reducing of the said fine according to Oxford articles, within which articles the said court have adjudged him to be comprised, I find that by the said judgment of the said Court of Articles of the 15th of July, 1653, the said Richard Powell is adjudged to be comprised within the articles of Oxford, and that it appeared to them that the said Richard Powell petitioned at Goldsmiths' Hall, to compound upon the said articles of Oxford the 6th of August, 1646, and had his fine set the 8th of December, 1646; and that he died the 1st of January, 1646, no proceedings being made upon the said composition: and that Mr. John Pye hath since compounded upon the act of the 1st of August, 1650, upon a mortgage of lands of the yearly value of 272*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* being a lease for 31 yeares, upon which mortgage there was owing to the said John Pye 1238*l.* which debt being allowed, the fine was set 576*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* which is paid into the Treasury. Upon consideration whereof the said Court of Articles were of opinion, that the said fine paid by Mr. Pye ought to be reduced, according to the articles of Oxford, and did award, order, and adjudge, that the said fine be reduced accordingly; and that the overplus be paid unto Mr. Pye, with such abatement as is usual in like cases.

“ Upon search of the papers here remayning, I find that there was a fine set upon the said Richard Powell, upon the said Articles of Oxford in December 1646, but not for the estate mortgaged to Mr. Pye : but nothing thereof paid.

“ That the said John Pye compounded the 25th of March 1651 for a Lease of the Mannor and Rectory of Forest Hill, for 31 yeares, commencing the 1st of Nov. 1641, which was mortgaged by the said Richard Powell in 1640, upon which mortgage there was then due to him 1238*l.*, for which his fine was sett at a sixth, 576*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* If this be reduced to a tenth, according to Oxford Articles, it will stand thus : A Lease for 31 yeares from November 1641 of Lands of the yearly value of 292*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; whence allowing for a debt of 1238*l.* ; 123*l.* 16*s.*

“ He craveth allowance of 20*l.* per annum to the Curate.

“ The fine will remayne.

“ Sept. 1, 1653. (Signed) JO. READINGE.”

3. “ By the Commissioners for compounding, &c.
30^o *Augusti*, 1653.

“ Upon reading an order of judgment given by the Court of Articles the 15th of July last in the case of Ann Powell, Widow, Relict and Administratrix of Richard Powell, late of Forrest Hill in the County of Oxford, Esq. deceased, (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed and attested by our Register,) It is ordered that it be referred to Mr. Readinge, to state the case touching the fine imposed on Mr.

John Pye, upon the Act of the first of August 1650 for the Leasehold land of the said Richard Powell, and make Report thereof to Us, in order to the reducing of the said fine according to Oxford Articles, within which Articles the said Court have adjudged him to be comprised.

(Signed)

“ JOHN UPTON,

“ EDW. CARY,

“ RIC. MOORE.”

Then follows a Certificate, which had been made upon this order, to the Commissioners for relief upon articles, as required in the fifth document.

4. “ To the Right Honorable the Commissioners for Breach of Articles.

“ The Humble Petition of Ann Powell, Widow, Relict of Richard Powell of Forrest Hill in the Countie of Oxon, Esq.

“ Humblie sheweth,

“ That your Petitioner's late Husband was comprised within the Articles of Oxford, and ought to have received the benefit thereof, as appears by His Excellencie's Certificate hereunto annexed.

“ That your said Petitioner's Husband by the said Articles was to have the benefit of his reall and personall estate, for sixe moneths after the rendition of the said cittie, and to enjoye the same for the future, soe as he made his addresses to the Committee at Gouldsmiths' Hall to compound for the same within that tyme. That your Petitioner's said Husband

accordingly in August, one thousand six hundred fortie sixe, petitioned the said Honorable Committee, and in his Particular inserted for tymber and wood fower hundred pounds, but, before he could perfect the same, dyed.

“ That the Honourable House of Parliament, upon some misinformation, not taking notice of the said Articles, did, in July one thousand six hundred fortie sixe, order the said wood to severall uses, which was thereupon, together with the rest of his goods and moveables, seized and carried away by the sequestrators to the Committee for Oxon, contrary to the said Articles.

“ That your Petitioner, as Executrix to her said Husband, is now sued in severall Courts of Justice at Westminster for manie debts due to diverse persons, and is noe waie able eyther to satisfie the same, or provide a scanty subsistence for herselfe and nine children.

“ She therefore humblie prayes, that shee maie reape that favour which the said Articles doe afford her, by restoringe to her the said tymber and wood, and other her goods soe taken away, or the value thereof.

“ And your Petitioner shall praie, &c.

“ ANNE POWELL.”

“ Vera Copia Ext.”

(Signed) “ TRACY PAUNCEFOTE, Reg^r.”

5. “ By the Commissioners appointed for releife upon Articles, &c. Painted Chamber, Westminster.

" Veneris 16^o die *Novembris*, 1649.

" Present.

" Lord President of the Council of State.

" Sir Henrie Holcroft, Colonel Rowe,

" Sir Nath. Brent, Colonel Taylor,

" Colonel Cooke, Colonell Whaley,

" Sir William Rowe, Mr. Sadler.

" Mr. John Hurst, of Councell for the Commonwealth.

" Upon readinge the Petition of Ann Powell, Widow, Relict of Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the Countie of Oxford, Esq. It is ordered, That a Coppie of her said Petition attested under the Register's hande of this Court, be delivered unto the Commissioners for compoundinge with delinquents sittinge at Gouldsmiths' Hall, whoe are desired to make Certificate unto this Court within one moneth from the date of this Order, at what tyme the said Richard Powell petitioned to make his composition, and whether the wood mentioned in his Petition were expressed in his Particular delivered in unto them, with what else they shall thinke fitt to insert touching the matter of complaint sett downe in the said Petition. Whereupon the Court will proceed further as they shall thinke fitt.

(Signed)

" By Command of the Commissioners,

" TRACY PAUNCEFOTE, Reg^r."

We are now recalled to Mr. Powell's own statement, and other circumstances, which have been

noticed in the first of these interesting documents.

6. "To the Honorable the Committee sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall for Compositions.

"The Humble Petition of Richard Powell, of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxon, Esq.

"Sheweth,

"That your Petitioner's estate for the most parte lying in the Kings Quarters, he did adhere to His Majesty's party against the forces raised by the Parliament, in this unnaturall warr; for which his delinquency his estate lyeth under sequestration. He is comprised within these Articles at the surrender of Oxford. And humbly prayes to be admitted to his composition according to the said Articles.

"And he shall pray, &c.

(Signed) "RICHARD POWELL.

"Received 6^o *Augusti*, 1646.

"26^o *Novembris*, 1646,

"Referred to the Sub-Committee."

7. "These are to certifie, that Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford, Esq. did freely and fully take the nationall covenant and subscribe the same, upon the fourth day of December, 1646; the said covenant being administred unto him, according to order, by me,

(Signed) "WILLIAM BARTON,

"Minister of John Zacharies, London."

8. " Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford, Esq. tooke the oath this 4th of December, 1646.

(Signed) " THO. VINCENT."

9. " Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford maketh oath, that the severall summés of money mentioned to be oweing by him in his Particular, annexed to his Petition at Gouldsmiths' Hall, are trulie and reallie oweing by him. And further deposeth, that he is the worse in his estate att leaste three thousand pounds by reason of these warres. And that the aforesaid debtes were by him oweing before the beginning of this Parliament, and are still oweing.

(Signed) " RIC. POWELL.

" Jur. 4^o. die. Decembr. 1646.

(Signed) " JOHN PAGE."

10. " A particular of the reall and personall estate of Richard Powell of Forrest Hill.

" He is seized of an estate in fee of the tythes of Whatley, in the Parish of Cudsdén, and three yard lands and a halfe there, together with certayne cottages, worth before these times per annum.

040 00 0

" This is morgadg'd to Mr. Ashworth for ninety-nine yeares for a security of four hundred pounds, as appeares by Deed, bearing date the 10th of Jan. in the 7th of King Charles. A demyse for 99 yeeres defeated by a paymente of 400*l*. Jan. 30, 1642. Ar-rears unpaid.

" His personal estate in corne and household stuffe, amounts to	}	500 0 0
" In timber and wood		400 0 0
" In debts upon specialityes and otherwise owing to him	}	100 0 0
" He oweth upon a Statute to <i>John Mylton</i>	}	300 0 0
" He is indebted more before these times by specialityes and otherwise to severall persons, as appears by affidavit	}	1200 0 0

" He lost by reason of these warres three thousand powndes

" This is a true particular of the reall and personall estate that he doth desire to compound for with this honorable committee, wherein he doth submitt himselfe to such fine as they shall impose according to the articles of Oxford, wherein he is comprised.

(Signed) " RICHARD POWELL.

" Received 21^o Novembris, 1646."

But before this return of his property had been made, he had received the following protection.

11. " Sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, generall of the forces reaised by the Parliament.

" Suffer the bearer hereof, Mr. Richard Powell of Forrest Hill in the county of Oxon, who was in the city and garrison of Oxford, at the surrender thereof, and is to have the full benefit of the articles agreed unto upon the surrender, quietly, and with-

out let or interruption, to passe your guards with his servants, horses, armes, goods, and all other necessities ; and to repaire unto London, or elsewhere, upon his necessary occasions. And in all places where he shall reside, or whereto he shall remove, to be protected from any violence to his person, goods, or estate, according to the said articles ; and to have full liberty, at any time within six months, to goe to any convenient port, and to transport himselfe, with his servants, goods, and necessities, beyond seas ; and in all other things to enjoy the benefit of the said articles. Hereunto due obedience is to be given by all persons whom it may concerne, as they will answer the contrary. Given under my hand and seal the 27th day of June 1646.

(Signed) " T. FAIRFAX.

" To all officers and souldiers under my command, and to all others whom it may concerne."

Indorsed, " Richard Powell, No. 1137. Dec. 1646. Reported, 1^o Oct. 1649. Fine 180%."

We come now to other documents, which also relate to the property of Mr. Powell ; in which the connection of Milton with Forest Hill is found so early as in 1627, while he was a student at Cambridge ; a circumstance unknown to all the biographers of the poet. And here he might have been subsequently an occasional visitor ; he might have been known to the villagers, and thus have given rise to the tradition already mentioned of his residence at the place ; and might at a later period

(for she was but young when married in 1643) have tendered his heart to Mary Powell. Yet he never told his love. And accordingly his nephew Phillips relates, as a matter of marvel, that after an absence from London *for a month, nobody knowing the reason*, his uncle returned with a wife. But it may be thought, that the union had been planned by their relations in 1627, (for the grandfather of Milton and Mr. Powell were neighbours,) when the lady was but a child; and that the recorded debt, which will presently appear, was the security for her future dower. If such was the case, Milton bestowed the month of absence from London upon Forest Hill, in order to fulfil the precontract. But supposing this absence to have *brought him to Forest Hill for the first time*, and the debt to have been upon another account, we may imagine him arrived for the purpose of soliciting the payment of it, and the impression to have been *then* made upon his heart by the lady. In either case it is certain that he returned, with his uncanceled debt, perhaps like his own Adam, “fondly overcome with female charm.” And indeed he seems to apologize, as it were, for this his seeming hasty match, in his own *Samson Agonistes*; where allusions to his first marriage, it has been often asserted, are strongly drawn :

“The first I saw at Timna, and *she pleas'd*

“*Me*, not my parents, *that I sought to wed*

“*The daughter of an infidel.*”

Enough, however, is shewn to render questionable

what Dr. Symmons has written in his Life of the poet respecting his residence at Forest Hill; and enough will soon be produced to justify the wish, that in this assertion an uncalled-for reflection upon a highly respectable and loyal family had not been embodied. "We may be *certain*," the learned biographer says, "*that Milton never saw Forest Hill after his departure from it on his marriage; nor ever resided there longer than during the month of his courtship.* In this interval it is possible, though, as I think, not probable, that he wrote L'Allegro and Il Penseroso; and if to the impression of Forest Hill, and its scenery, we are indebted for the production of these exquisite pieces, we may forgive it for its offence as the seat, and perhaps the birth-place, of the proud and paltry Powells."

I now produce the petition and depositions of the poet, which are preceded by the subsequent Report.

12. "According to your order of the 25th of February 1650, upon the petition of *John Milton*, desiring to compound for certaine lands lately belonging to Richard Powell, Gent. deceased, extended by the petitioner, who alledged in his petition that he petitioned here to the same purpose about the middle of August last; I have examined, and find:

"The 11th of June 1627, Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford, Gent. and

^r Royalists' Composition Papers, First Series, Vol. xli. No. 1298.

William Hearne of London, citizen and goldsmith, acknowledged a statute-staple of 500*l.* unto *John Milton* the petitioner, defeazanced by John Milton, the petitioner's father, on the behalfe of the petitioner, upon payment of 312*l.* the 12th of December, then next ensuing, as by a copie of the said statute deposed by Thomas Gardner, and by the counterpart of the defeazance produced by the petitioner appears. Since which the said Richard Powell and William Hearne are both dead, as is informed.

“ The 5th of August 1647, the Sheriffe of the County of Oxford, upon an inquisition taken upon the said statute, did seise into the King's hand certaine messuages, lands, and tithes, in Whateley, whereof the said Richard Powell in his life was seised in his demesne as of fee ; a third part wherof Anne his wife [claims] for her life as her dower, of the cleare yearly value of 58*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The which messuages and premisses the said Sheriffe, by virtue of a liberate, did the 20th of November 1647 deliver unto the petitioner, to hold unto him and his assignees as his frank tenement untill he were satisfied his said debt of 500*l.* with damages, costs, and charges. As by a copie of the liberate, and the execution thereof deposed by the said Thomas Gardner, appears.

“ And the petitioner deposeth, that since the extending the said statute, he hath received at severall tymes for the same, and costs of suit, the summe of 180*l.* or thereabouts ; and that there is yet remain-

ing due and owing unto him of the principall money, interest, and costs of suit, the summe of 300*l.* or thereabouts: and further deposeth that neither he nor any other for him or by his direction, privity, or consent, hath released or otherwise discharged the said statute; and that he doth not know or conceive any reason either in law, or equity, why he should not receive the said remainder of his debt, damages, and costs of suit.

“ And the petitioner by a particular under his hand saith, that the said tithes and lands extended by him, and whereof the said Richard Powell was seized in his demesne as of fee, and for which he desireth to compound, are of the cleare yearly value of 80*l.*

“ And he craves, to be allowed 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, during the life of Anne Powell, the relict of the said Richard, being a third part of the said 80*l.* for her dower.

“ And he craves alsoe to be allowed his said debt of 300*l.* All which is submitted to judgement.

(Signed)

“ PET. BREBETON.

“ 4^o Mar. 1650.”

“ To the Honourable the Commissioners for Sequestration at Haberdashers' Hall, the Petition of John Milton,

“ Sheweth,

“ That he being to compound by the late Act for certaine lands at Whately in Oxfordshire, belonging to Mr. Richard Powell late of Forest Hill in the

same County, by reason of an ' extent which he hath upon the same lands by a statute, did put in his Petition about the middle of August last, which was referred accordingly ; but having had important business ever since by order of the Councill of State, he hath had no time to proceed in the perfeting of his composition ; and in the mean time finds that order hath bin giv'n out from hence to forbid his tenants to pay him rent : He therefore now desires he may have all convenient dispatch, and that the Order of Sequestering may be recalled, and that the composition may be moderated as much as may bee, in regard that Mrs. Powell the Widow of the said Mr. Richard Powell hath her cause depending before the Commissioners in the Painted Chamber for breach of Articles, who have adjudg'd her satisfaction to be made for *the great damage don her by seizing and selling the personall estate divers days after the Articles were seald.* But by reason of the expiring of that Court she hath receivd as yet no satisfaction, and beside she hath her thirds out of that land which was not considered when her Husband followed his composition ; and lastly the taxes, free quartering, and finding of armes, were not then considered, which have bin since very great and are likely to be greater.

* To this document is subjoined in the margin of it the following attestation, of which a fac-simile is given, entirely in Milton's hand-writing : " I doe swear that this debt for which I am to compound according to my petition is a true and real debt, as will appear upon record. John Milton, Jur. 25. Feb. 1650."

I ^{do} ~~am~~ ~~swear~~ swear that this
debt for wch I am to compound
according to my petition is a true
C real debt, as will appear upon
record
John Milton/
June 25. 1650.

John Milton

John Milton

"And your Petitioner shall be ready to pay what shall be thought reasonable at any day that shall be appointed.

(Signed)

"JOHN MILTON.

"25 Feb. 1650.

"Mr. Brereton is desired by y^e Com^{rs} to perfect his report in Mr. Milton's case by Tuesday next."

"A Particular of the lands late Richard Powell's of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford, now under extent, and for which *John Milton*, Esquire, desireth to compound.

"The said Richard Powell was seised in his demesne as of fee of the tythe corne of Whatley and certaine cottages then of the cleare yearlye value of	}	60 0 0
		per annum.

"The said Richard was seised alsoe in his demesne as of fee of three yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of land, arable and pasture, of the cleare yearly value of	}	20 0 0
		per annum.

"Out of which he craveth to be allowed for the thirds which he paieth to Mrs. Anne Powell, the Relict of the said Richard Powell, for her Dower.	}	26 13 4

"And alsoe craveth that his just debt of three hundred poundes, as he hath deposed, may be allowed upon his composition.	}	300 0 0

"JOHN MILTON."

“Whereas Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, in the County of Oxford, Gent. and William Hearne, late Cittizen and Goldsmith of London, deceased, by their writing or recognizance of the nature of a statute-staple, beareing date the eleventh day of June, which was in the third yeare of the raigne of the late King Charles of England, &c. made and provided for the recovery of debts, and taken, acknowledged, and sealed, before Sir Nicholas Hide, Knight, then Lord Cheife Justice of the Court then called the Kings Bench att Westminster, did acknowledge themselves to owe unto *John Milton, then of the University of Cambridge, Gentleman*, sonne of John Milton, Cittizen and Scrivener of London, the somme of five hundred poundes of lawfull money of England, which said statute or recognizance is by a writing, beareing even date therewith, defeazanced for the payment of the somme of three hundred and twelve pounds of like money unto the said *John Milton* the sonne, his executors, administrators, or assignes, on the twelveth day of December then next ensuing, as by the said statute or recognizance and defeazance thereupon, whereunto relation being had more att large may appeare. Now I, *John Milton*, the sonne, (being one and the same partie before mentioned for Cognizee in the said statute or recognizance) doe make oath that (since the extending of the said statute) I have received att severall tymes in part of satisfaction of my said just and principall debt, with dammages for the same and my costs of suite, the somme of one hundred and fowerscore

pounds or thereabouts, and that there is yett remaineing due and oweing unto mee of my said principall money, interest, and costs of suite, the somme of three hundred pounds or thereabouts: And I doe further make oath, that neither I the said *John Milton* or any other for mee or by my direction, privity, or consent, have or hath released or otherwise discharged the said statute or recognizance; neither doe I knowe or conceive any reason or cause either in law, or equity, why I should not receive the said remainder of my said debt, dammages, and costs of suite.

(Signed) "JOHN MILTON. { Jur: coram Com^{ris}.
28^o. Feb. 1650.

(Signed) "E. WINSLOW."

Indorsed, "Milton John Esq. 4^o. Martii 1650.
Fine 130^l."

Reverting now for a moment to the time of Milton's reconciliation with his wife, it was settled, we find, that she should reside in the house of a friend; till his new mansion, which he had procured in Barbican, was ready for the reception of the encreased household; her father and mother, her brothers and sisters. The biographers of the poet suppose, that they left him soon after the death of his own father, who also, they say, then lived with him, and ended a long life in 1647. But Mr. Powell likewise then ceased to mourn over his own and the country's misery; dying in debt, 1500^l.; having lost "by the wars," 3000^l.; and leaving a widow with "scanty

subsistence for herself and nine children," sued at the same time for debts in the courts of law which she was unable to pay, and deprived of property which she had been led to believe would have been secure: And it was, in consequence of *his* death, that his family left the roof of Milton.

This brings us to the last scene of domestick circumstances, hitherto unexplored, in the history of Milton and his first wife; and it shews us, what is painful to see, the mother of that wife still imploring her thirds in vain, together with some reflections upon the temper and conduct of Milton.

13. " Anne Powell, the Widowe of Richard Powell of Forresthill, in y^e County of Oxon, Esquire, maketh oath, that y^e said Rich: Powell, her late Husband, died neere the first day of January, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundred fowrtie sixe, at the howse of M^r. John Milton, scituate in Barbican, London :

" Jur. cor. Com^{riis}. } (Signed) " ANNE POWELL."
27^o. Feb. 1650. R. M. }

" To the Hono^{ble}. Comissioners for Composi-
cons &c.

" The humble petiçon of Anne Powell, Widow, &c.

" Sheweth,

" That your petitioner brought a considerable

* First Series of Royalists' Compos. Papers, in his Majesty's State-Paper Office, vol. 1. No. 1540. 42, 64, 65, 66, and 2.

porcōn. to her sd husband, w^{ch} was worth to him 3000*l*, yet through the carelesnes of her freindes and relying upon her husband's good will therein, hee haveing had many losses in his estate, by reason of the warrs, and otherwise, your petitioner had noe joynture made unto her, nor hath any thing at all left her, but her thirdes, w^{ch} is due by lawe, for the maintenance of herself and "eight children; haveing sustained 1000*l* in their personall estate's losse, by the Committees in y^e county, contrary to the Articles of Oxoñ. Shee most humbly prayes your Honors will please, being the fine is now agreed to bee paid by M^r. Milton for the said estate, that shee may continue the enjoym^t. of her thirdes, as formerly, w^{ch} she humbly conceaves, had not the fine been paid, as aforesaid, yet your Honors would not have abridged your petitioner of her thirdes, in this case, for the maintenance of herself and poore children.

" And she shall pray, &c.

" 19^o Apr. 1651. (*Signed*) " ANNE POWELL."

" *The petr. left to the law.*"

Upon this petition observations or notes are then made, as follow.

" By y^e law shee (Mrs. Powell) might recover her thirdes, without doubt; but she is so extreame poore,

* Perhaps one of her *nine* children, before mentioned, p. 74, was now dead; there being an interval of more than a year and a half between the two statements. Or she might be now desired not to include the wife of Milton as maintained by her.

she hath not wherewithall to prosecute; and besides; *Mr. Milton is a harsh and cholericke man, and married Mr. Powells daughter, who would be undone, if any such course were taken ag^t. him by Mr. Powell: he having turned away his wife heretofore for a long space, upon * some other occasion.*

“ This note ensuing Mr. Milton writ, whereof this is a copy.

“ Although I have compounded for my extent, and shal be so much the longer in receiving my debt, yet at the request of M^r. Powell, in regard of her present necessitys, I am contented, as farr as belongs to my consent to allow her the 3^d of what I receive from that estate, if the Com^r. shall so order it, that what I allow her, may not be reckoned upon my accompt.”

(Indorsed.) “ The estate is wholly extended, and a saving as to the 3^d. prayed, but not graunted; We cannot therefore allow the 3^d. to the petitioner.”

“ To the Hon^{ble}. the Com^r. for Compounding &c.

“ The humble petiçõn of Anne Powell, Widow, &c.

“ Sheweth,

“ That your petitioner brought 3000*l*. porçõn to her late husband, and is now left in a most sadd condiçõn, the estate left being but 80*l*. p añ, the

* Instead of *some other occasion*, there had been written a *small occasion*, which is crossed through with the pen.

thirds whereof is but 26. 13. 4, to maintaine her self and 8 children.

“ The said estate being extended by Jo. Milton, on a Statute Staple, for a debt of 300*l*, for w^{ch} he hath compounded with yo’ Hono^r, on y^e Act of y^e first of August, and therein allowance given him for y^e pet^r. thirds ; yet the said M^r. Milton expects your further order therein, before he will pay the same. She therefore humbly prayeth your Honors’ order and direc^{ti}on to y^e said M^r. Milton, for the paym^t. of her said thirds, and the arreares thereof, *to preserve her and her children from starving.*

“ And as in duty bound &c.

(Signed)

“ ANNE POWELL.

“ *To be Rec^d. next petition day, S. M.*

“ *July the 14th. 1651. 16^o July 1651.*”

“ To y^e Hon^{ble}. the Com^r. for reliefe upon Articles.

“ The humble peti^{ti}on of Anne Powell, Widow, &c.

“ Sheweth,

“ That your petitioner’s late husband was comprised in y^e Articles of Oxford, as appeares by the Certificate of y^e late L^d. Gen^l. Fairfax, already before this Court in yo’ pet^r behalf. That within the time limited by the said Articles y^e pet^r s^d husband preferred his peti^{ti}on, at Goldsmiths’ Hall, and was admitted to compound, according to y^e s^d Articles, for his estate reall and personal, as may appeare by y^e Certificate of y^e Com^r for compounding, already likewise before this Hon^{ble} Court. That her s^d hus-

band dyed seised of an Estate in Fee (lying in Wheatley, in y^e County of Oxon.) whereof yo^r pet^r claymeth her Dower; which, upon her s^d husband's death, was assigned to her by y^e heire of her s^d husband, and accordingly was enjoyed, for some tyme, by yo^r peti^cōn^r. That John Milton Esq. did extend the said lands in Fee, by virtue of a Statute to him acknowledged by yo^r pet^r s^d husband, before y^e late warres; but long after yo^r pet^r marriage to her s^d husband. The s^d John Milton by virtue of an act of Parliam^t, i^mo August, 1650. was required to bring in a Peticuler of y^e lands, so extended by him, to y^e Comⁿ for compounding, and accordingly did pay the composi^cōn due for y^e s^d lands: And yo^r pet^r offered also to compound for her Dower, but could neither be admitted to compound for her s^d Dower, nor obtayne an Order from y^e s^d Comⁿ to receive it, wthout a composi^cōn: So y^t for nigh these two yeares shee hath bin, and still is, debarred of her Dower, which is most justly due unto her. Yo^r pet^r humbly prayeth, *That shee may bee forthwth restored to her Dower, most wrongfully detained from her: That your Honors will seriously consider this, and those other greate pressures (represented in a former peti^cōn, now depending before you) under which yo^r pet^r being a mother of seven fatherlesse children, (since one of them, Capt. William Powell, Capt. Lieuten^t to Lieuten^t Gen^l Monck, was some few dayes past slaine in Scotland in y^e service of y^e P^rliam^t.) hath, for a long time, groaned, by*

ye most injurious violaçon of her Articles : And that you will speedily proceed to give her such reliefe in this and her other grievances by her Articles, and otherwise in justice shee makes suite to have.

“ And yo^r Pet^r shall ever pray, &c.

(Signed) “ ANNE POWELL.

(Signed) “ TRACEY PAUNCEFOTE, Reg^r.”

In the preceding documents Milton is pronounced, with an evident desire to give him no further provocation, “ a harsh and cholerick man, he having turned away his wife upon some other occasion.” And upon this temper and conduct a somewhat similar reflection is made in the answer of one of his antagonists, so late as in 1660. “ ‘ Since you grew so wise, as to *throw aside your wife because your waspish spirit* could not agree with her qualities, and *your crooked phantasy* could not be brought to take delight in her, you then grew so free,” &c. However this may have been, while his first wife and he were separated, and while he was immersed in elaborate discussions connected with the misfortune, he had not been without mental amusement. His leisure hours often passed smoothly away in visits to a lady of the most engaging talents and conversation, the daughter of the Earl of Marlborough; to whom, as to her husband, Captain Hobson, a very accomplished

‘ The Dignity of Kingship asserted, in Answer to Mr. Milton’s Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, &c. By G. S. A lover of loyalty, 1660. p. 111.

gentleman, his company was peculiarly acceptable. His tenth Sonnet, inscribed to this discerning lady, is a grateful acknowledgement of his esteem. His time also had been employed in collecting together his early poems, both English and Latin, for the press. They were first published by Humphrey Moseley, the general publisher of the poets of his day, in 1645; who tells us, in his Address to the Reader, that "the author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will; I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spencer wrote; whose poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excelled." Mosely was not more discerning than Milton was modest. But modesty was a principal feature in Milton's character. He affixed only his initials to *Lycidas*: he acknowledged, with hesitation, *Comus*. It is rather surprising, that Mr. Warton should have * asserted that, for seventy years after their first publication, he recollects no mention of these poems in the whole succession of English literature; and that the quantity of an hemistich, quoted from them, is not to be found in the Collections of those who have digested the Beauties or Phrases of the English Poets from 1655 to 1738 inclusively. I can positively assert that in the edition of Poole's

* In the Prefaces to both his Editions of the Smaller Poems.

English Parnassus, or Help to English Poesie, published in 1677, there are few * pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry. In the preface also to Ayres's *Lyrick Poems*, published in 1687, Milton is thus noticed: "If any one quarrel at the oeconomy or structure of these poems, many of them being Sonnets, Canzons, Madrigals, &c. objecting that none of our great men, either Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, or Mr. Dryden, whom it was most proper to have followed, have ever stooped to any thing of this sort; I shall very readily acknowledge, that, being sensible of my own weakness and inability of ever attaining to the performance of one thing equal to the worst piece of theirs, it easily dissuaded me from that attempt, and put me on this; which is not without president: For *many eminent persons* have published several things of this nature, and in this method, both Translations and Poems of their own; as the famous Mr. Spencer, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Richard Fanshaw, *Mr. Milton*, and some few others: The success of all which, in these things, I must needs say, cannot much be boasted of; and though I have little reason, after it, to expect credit from these my slight Miscellanies, yet has it not discouraged me from adventuring on what my genius prompted me to." I may further observe that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* appear to have sometimes caught the notice of Robert Herrick, in his

* And, to the credit of Poole's selection, I may add that the examples are very often taken from *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, and the *Ode on the Nativity*.

Hesperides, published in 1648; and that both the ease and imagery of these poems are certainly copied, in a few instances, by Andrew Marvell, the intimate friend of Milton.

In 1647 Milton removed to a smaller house in Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn fields; and continued to instruct a few scholars. Phillips tells us, that "he is much mistaken, if there was not about this time a design of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the design." This perhaps may be doubted, when it is considered that Waller was esteemed a leader of the Presbyterians against the designs of the Independents. Milton, in his military capacity, could not have served cordially under a general so disposed.

Early in 1648 he appears to have rendered, into English metre, nine of the Psalms, which are printed with his Poetical Works; while the first seven are found not to have been thus translated by him before 1653. There were now in circulation other new metrical versions of the Psalms, none of which acquired popularity, although recommended by puritanical influence. Nor was the criticism of bishop Henry King, himself a versifier of this description, successful in reforming these metrical labours: "I was discouraged," he says, in a letter to archbishop Usher in 1651, "in my translation, knowing that

Mr. George Sandys, and lately one of our pretended reformers, had failed in two different extremes ; the first too elegant for the vulgar use ; the other as flat and poor, as lamely worded, &c. as the old." The *pretended reformer*, perhaps, was Francis Rouse, the Presbyterian provost of Eton college.

Till the overthrow of the kingly government in the death of Charles, the pen of Milton now appears to have been unemployed. It was^b resumed in order to silence the outcry, raised by the Presbyterians, against the deed of blood ; and to advance the interests of the infant commonwealth. The product of it was entitled, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawfull, and hath been held so through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king ; and, after due conviction, to depose, and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it : And that they, who of late so much blame deposing, are the men that did it themselves, 1648-9." Milton seems to have been not correct in

^b "Liber iste, [*The Tenure &c.*] non nisi post mortem regis prodiit, ad componendos potius hominum animos factus, quam ad statuendum de Carolo quicquam," &c. Milton, *Def. Sec.* This treatise, Phillips says, reviving the fame of other things Milton had formerly published ; he was more and more taken notice of for his excellency of style, and depth of judgement ; was courted into the service of the new Commonwealth ; and at last prevailed with (for he never hunted after preferment, nor affected the hurry of publick business,) to take upon him the office of Latin secretary, &c.

his charge. He should have added the Papists and Independents, who were banded in firm league against the Church and the King. He remembered, however, the assistance which had been afforded by the Pope, when he wrote his treatise *Of True Religion* four and twenty years afterwards; of whom he says, "we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, [who] hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, *once to destroy both King and Parliament.*" On this part of English history it cannot be uninteresting to enlarge. "I shall here say no more," says the editor of a very curious tract, "than that the doctrine which was practis'd in *forty eight*, was published in English in *twenty one*, in the book entitled *The Rights of the Prelate and the Prince*, as good Roman Catholick divinity, by J. E. with Licence of Superiors; and consequently, that John Goodwin and *John Milton* were not the first broachers of it in England. The strain of the whole book is of that nature, and the following words are part of it, ch. 15. p. 375. And if Kings, who were not excommunicated nor deprived by the Pope, may by the Commonwealth be depos'd and kill'd, where they are intolerable tyrants; why may not the Commonwealth exercise the same power over tyrants excommunicated and deprived by the

"Certaine passages which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles I. Written by Mr. Edward Cooke, of Highnam in Gloucestershire, sometime Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell. Lond. 1690." 4^{to}.

Pope, they, after excommunication and deprivation, being no more Kings, but private men?"

The subject indeed had been before discussed in a very interesting discourse, of which the title is, "Herod and Pilate reconciled: Or, The Concord of Papist and Puritan (against Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings. Discovered by David Owen, Batchelour of Divinitie, &c. Cambridge, 1610," 4°. To this point I may also apply an extract from "Foxes and Firebrands; or a Specimen of the danger and harmony of Popery and Separation;" attributed by some to Dr. Nelson, by others to Sir James Ware: "But that which makes the thing plain, is the discovery which was made to Sir William Boswell by Andreas ab Habnerfeld; which was communicated first by Sir William to my Lord of Canterbury, and by him transmitted to the King then at York, Novemb. 1640. The whole is printed by itself, and in ^d Rushworth's Collections; and is too long here to insert; but the principal parts and matter of the plot was this: That there was a design on foot, by the Papists, against the King and the Archbishop. That, to effect this, the Scottish commotions were raised, and fomented by the Jesuits; that they exasperated the English Dissenters by the severity used against Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick; and the Scots, by the fears of

* Hist. Collect. p. 1314.

Popery upon the imposition of the Common-Prayer book ; that Cuneus or Con, the Pope's Legate, and Chamberlain a Scot, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal Richlieu, were the great negociators of this conspiracy ; and that the design was to embroil these nations in a civil war. The troubles came on so fast, as may well be supposed, precipitated for fear of a further prosecution of this discovery, that the Archbishop lost his head for refusing a cardinal's hat, and opposing the Scottish Covenanters ; and the King his, because he would not give away the crown, and put down the mitre, by granting toleration, 2d. edit. 1682, pp. 50, 51." It was one of the threats of the Covenanters, that " the Enemy should be forced either to give Liberty of Conscience to the Catholicks, or put themselves in danger of losing all, p. 48." Other proofs of the combination might be added. And the following narrative is too curious to be here omitted. It is from the pen of Dr. Bargrave, (whose manuscript I have already noticed,) who was particularly acquainted with Holstenius, one of Milton's friends. Being at Rome, he says, " Cardinel Rossetti was shewed to me to take more perticuler notice of him, because that he had binn almost 3 yeares in England the Popes Nuntio Incognito, as you may find in the Italian Historian mentioned in the margent^f.

* See more particularly Kennet's Register, 1728, pp. 539, 540. And Lord Strafforde's Letters, 1739, vol. ii. p. 74.

^f Il Conte Bisaccione Delle Guerre Civili D'Inghilterra, Edit. 2^a. 1653, p. 17.

“ An^o. 1639 There arriued (sayth he) at London, to reside at the Court as a gentleman traueeler, sent by Cardinal Barberino, but effectually he was the Pope's Nuntio, by name Charles Rosetti, an Earle by birth; whoe had taken vpon him the Church habite of a Prelate; whoe was of a greate spirit, actiue, and prudent; able to vndertake business of the greatest difficultie. He was valerous of heart, had a learned tongue, was quick in parts, in breif he was such an one, that his fellow could not be fownde in all the Court of Rome. His letters were dated at Rome the 16th. of Aprill: (and then my Author telleth us a secret that we are not to know, viz.) And because that in England he woare a Secular habit, and tooke vpon him no other name but of Conte Rossetti, therefore I will allso hide, where I haue occasion to mention him, his ecclesiasticall title of Monsignore, and giue him onely the title of his noble famely^e. Vpon his comming to Court, and being courteously receiued, all things went well with the Ro: Catholicks; and those Preists, that by law were to be punished with Death, were onely banished. This was the Spring time of the Catholick Religion in that kingdome, which *florished by the sweete favourable blasts of the Conte Rossetti!* Vpon this, libels went about that ^b the King and Archbishop were Popish &c.; wherevpon the Archbishop aduised the King to rid his Court of the Roman Ministers, and to renew the rigour of the

^e P. 18.^b P. 22.

law. The Conte Rossetti, hearing of this, wold not hide the Interesse for which he was at London; but, vpon this occasion, being made more vigorous of courage in this time of dainger, thought that now an opportunity was giuen him *to captinate the Kings soul*, and to conduct him to the Catholick Fayth! vpon which he broke his minde to a confident Courtier of theires, whoe yet doubted how to effect it. Rossetti, having bin persuaded by the Queene to write to the Pope for abowt an 100000^b sterling to supplie the Kings necesseties, His Holiness his answer was, ' That the Pope was very ready to supply the King so soone as euer he should declare him selfe a Catholick, the onely auaylable meanes to loosen the chaines of the Treasurie of the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. But, for a King that should turne to the bosom of the Church, he would lay hands vpon that Sacred Treasurie, otherwise shut vp and impenetrable &c.—Where one may reade a greate many Intreegues abowt the lending of this mony, ^a and how resolutely the King withstood theire attempts, and how Rossetti assalted the two Archbishops to returne to the Roman Fayth'. And then we haue mention of Rossetti's letter to the King to perswade him to turn Papist. But he finding his Ma:^c vnmooveable and firme as a rock, that strongly resisteth the fury of stormes and tempests, hauing his Faith fixed and fastned to a more sure foundation; this latent ^m Nuntio gaue ouer his

^a P. 31.^b P. 32, 33.^c P. 34.^m P. 35.

fruitless designe. Finding (saith my Author) that *he gaue light vnto the blinde, that he spake to one that was deaft, and, as the prouerb hath it, wold with water wash a blackmore white,* the (latent) Nuntio forsooke him; and stole owt of England (for feare of the Parliament that scented him) by the help of Sig^r. Giustiniano the Venetian Imbassador, and at his comeing to Rome *fu decorato della Porpora Vaticana.*

“ Though he was forced to be gone, yet the effects of his Nuntiature lasted all the Ciuill Warr, especially amongst the Irish Rebels”. To disproue the calomny that was rayseed upon the King (probably both by Papist and Presbyterians) he vsed all the meanes he could to shew that he was a cordiall Protestant, as is seen by his mony then coyned. So in the seuerall Speeches that he made at the head of his Army, one of them, sayth my Author, hath this passage^o: ‘ If I tooke a wife of an other Religion being of the Roman faith, it was with a Universall Consent: If the Lord Rossetti came to my Court, I used him courteously, as a noble man and a strainger, as it is fitt for Princes to doe, and yet vpon onely suspicion, and not guilt of any wrong to England, I sent him away.’—My Author in another place^p, speaking of the death of Archbishop Laud on the Scaffold, by way of scoffe sayth—*It had bin better for him to haue turned Catholick,*

^a P. 44.^o P. 80.^p P. 124.

and to haue gonn to Rome, as he had binn aduised, by the prudent counsell of the Popes zealous Nuntio, Rossetti, now a Cardinall^a! And, speaking of our Kings death, he hath this passage—His death was foretould (so long ago as when he was Prince of Wales) when he was in Spaine, where he, going to visit a holy Nunne, whoe was much esteemed for her sanctity; shee foretold him, that, if he did not hearken to the inspirations of that light which his gardian Angell shold instruct him in, he shold dye a miserable death, and ruine all his progeny! This ANGELL was Cardinal ROSSETTI, whoe by his frequent inspirations, not internall, but to the eare and the eye, by the voice and by writings, by his eloquent and angelicall suggestions, indeavoured his conuersion to the Catholik Faith; Card: Rossetti an *Angel* in practice! Greate Minister of the Pope, and an *Angel* by his office, as being a *Nuntio* or *Messenger*; a zealous Nuntio! Whence it is no maruell, if what the holy Nunne foretold had its effect!

“ Card: Barberino at Rome; This man his agent *here*; Card: Mazarino in France; And Gio: Rinnuccini, Archbishop of Firmo in Italy and the Popes Nuntio in Ireland; were the Popish Ecclesiasticks, that by the helpe of the Jesuites, in all probabiley, were the men that ruined the King and Kingdome vnder the new name and Cheate of INDEPENDENT;

I being tould beyond sea by muncks and fryars that I might heare Mass where I wold among the *Independents*; that Word signefying onely *Independent as to the Church of England, but Dependent as to the Church of Rome*; and so our warr was a warr of Religion to bring in Popery, and the King was a true martyr (that died for his Religion) in reuenge for the death of the Queene of Scotts, his grandmother."—This acute traveller relates also that he was at Rome, on his fourth visit to that city, when Charles the second was restored; which event, he says, "to my knowledge, was to the great grieve of the Triple Crowne and College of Cardinals, who thought to have binn masters of England." In another page he cites the Italian author, already mentioned, to show that "Charles the first suspected Mazzarino and the Imbassador of France to have had a hand in his troubles."

From these communications, which the subject of Milton's book induced me to make, I proceed merely to mention his next publication, "*Observations on the Articles of Peace* between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Papists and Rebels on the other," &c. which all his biographers have ascribed to him, improperly as it will presently be seen, before he became Latin Secretary.

His life was yet private; and he had entered upon his *History of England*; of which he had written

four books, when, without expectancy or solicitation of preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Secretary for Foreign Tongues. They had determined not to write to others abroad, except in that language, which was common to them all, the Latin. Their choice, therefore, could not have fallen upon a more perfect master of Latinity. Dr. Newton wishes that succeeding princes had followed this example of Latin correspondence; because, “ ‘ in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.” It may be added, that Milton himself countenanced this opinion: “ Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners; the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility; ashamed of their own: *a presage of their subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly*.”

“ Erat sanè Miltonus purioris dicendi generis vehementer studiosus, quod et ipse diligentissimè sectabatur, et qui Salmasium, soloecismos aliquando admittentem, salsè admodum perstringebat.” Literæ Nom. Sen. Angl. ed. J. G. Pritius, Lips. 1690. Pref.

‘ Life of Milton.

‘ Hist. of England, B. vi. edit. 1698, p. 111.

SECTION III.

*From his appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues,
to the Restoration of King Charles the Second.*

THE Book of ^a Orders of the Council of State during the Usurpation, preserved in his Majesty's State-Paper Office, presents the poet addressed by a committee, appointed for the purpose of inviting him into office, about six weeks after the martyrdom of the King.

“ 1648-9. March 13. Ordered, that Mr. White-locke, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Lisle, Earl of Denbigh, Mr. Martyn, Mr. Lisle, or any two of them, be appointed a committee to consider what alliances the Crowne hath formerly had with Forreigne States, and what those States are; and whether it will be fit to continue those alliances, or with how many of the said States; and how farr they should be continued, and upon what grounds; and in what man-

^a Now first presented to the publick eye, excepting three or four extracts embodied in Dr. Sumner's Introduction to his recent Translation of Milton's Treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*.

ner applications and addresses should be made for the said continuance.

“ That it be referred to the same committee *to speake with Mr. Milton, to know whether he will be employed as Secretary for the Forreigne Tongues*; and to report to the Councell.

“ 1648-9. March 15. Ordered, *that Mr. John Milton be employed as Secretary for Forreigne Tongues to this Councell*; and that he have the same salarie, which Mr. ^b Weckherlyn formerly had for the same service.

“ 1648-9. March 22. Ordered, that the letters, now read, to be sent to Hamburgh, in behalf of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, be approved; and that they be translated into Latine by Mr. Milton.

“ 1649. March 26. Ordered, that the letters,

^b Mr. Weckherlyn presently occurs as Secretary Assistant for the business of Foreign Affairs. He had been before employed as Secretary for Foreign Affairs from the first establishment of the Joint Committee of both kingdoms in Feb. 1643-4. What his salary was, has not been ascertained. This gentleman, who was of German extraction, Granger says, was Latin Secretary to King Charles I. He was the author of poems, and of other literary productions. See the Bodleian and the Brit. Mus. Catalogues, Art. *George Rodolph Wecherlin, or Weckerlin*. His only daughter, according to Granger, was first wife to William Trumbull, Esq. and mother of the noted Sir W. Trumbull, the friend of Pope.

now brought in by Mr. Milton to the Senate of Hamburgh, be approved; and that Mr. Isaac Lee, Deputy of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers there, shall be appointed agent for the delivering of them.

“ 1649. March 26. Ordered, that Mr. Milton be appointed to make some observations upon a paper lately printed, called ‘ *Old and New Chains*.’

“ 1649. March 28. Ordered, that Mr. Milton be appointed to make some observations upon the complication of interest which is now amongst the several designers against the peace of the Common-

“ Of which paper the noted John Lilburne was the author. And, accordingly, it follows in the Council-Book, “ Ordered, that Serjeant Dendy be appointed to make proclamation of the order of the House this day (March 27, 1649,) against the author of the booke called *the New Chaines*.” And on the following day it is ordered, “ that Lieut. Colonel John Lilburne be committed prisoner to the Tower, upon suspicion of high treason, for being the author, contriver, framer, or publisher, of a certayne scandalous and seditious booke printed, intituled *England’s New Chaines discovered, &c.*” Wood says, that Lilburne *divided his pamphlet into two parts*, both published in 1648-9, the latter of which consisted only of one sheet. Whatever Milton’s observations might have been upon this subject, if any there were, are unknown. Of Lilburne, a libeller and incendiary, and an oppositionist to every government under which he lived, a character at large is drawn by Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. B. xiv. Judge Jenkins was used to say of him, in reference to his litigious disposition, that if the world was emptied of all but John Lilburne, *Lilburne* would quarrel with *John*, and *John* would quarrel with *Lilburne*.

wealth, and that it be made ready to be printed with the papers out of ^d Ireland, which the House hath ordered to be printed.

“ 1649. May 18. Ordered, that the French letters, given in to the House by the Dutch ambassador, be translated by Mr. Milton; and the rest of the letters, now in the House, be sent for and translated.

“ 1649. May 30. Ordered, that Mr. Milton take the papers found with Mr. John Lee, and examine them, to see what may be found in them.

^d The Articles of Peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish; a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a Representation of the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast: These, with his *Observations*, Milton now published; and not before he was Latin Secretary. See what is before said, p. 105. In a tone of unqualified severity Milton says, “ Having seen those articles of peace granted to the papist rebels of Ireland, as special graces and favours from the late king, in reward, most likely, of their work done; and in his name and authority confirmed by James Earl of Ormond; together with his letter to Colonel Jones, full of contumely and dishonour both to the parliament and army; and on the other side an insolent and seditious representation from the Scots’ Presbytery at Belfast, no less dishonourable to the state; there will be needful, as to the same slanderous aspersions, but one and the same vindication against them both. Nor can we sever them in our notice and resentment, though one part is entitled a Presbytery, and would be thought a Protestant assembly; since their own unexampled virulence hath wrapt them into the same guilt, and made them accomplices and assistants to the abhorred Irish rebels,” &c.

“ 1649. June 23. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe examine the papers of ° *Pragmaticus*, and report what he finds in them to the Councell.

“ 1649. Nov. 12. Ordered, that Sir John Hip-
pesley be spoken to, that Mr. Milton may be
accommodated with those lodgings that he hath at
Whitehall.

“ 1649. Nov. 19. Ordered, that Mr. Milton shall
have the lodgings that were in the hands of Sir John
Hippesley, in Whitehall, for his accommodation, as
being Secretary to the Councell for Forreigne Lan-
guages.

“ 1649. Nov. 29. Ordered, that a letter be
written to the Commissioners of the Customes to
desire them to give order, that a very strict search
may be made of such ships as come from the Nether-
lands for certaine scandalous bookes, which are there
printed, against the government of this Common-
wealth, entituled *Defensio Regia*, and which are
designed to be sent over hither; and to desire them,
that if any of them upon search shall be found, that
they may be sent up to the Councill of State, with-

* The *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, a newspaper which made its
first appearance in Sept. 1647. But the especial direction here
points perhaps at the “*Mercurius Pragmaticus* for King Charles
II. April 24, 1649.” This newspaper was probably suppressed
for a time. But we find “*Mercurius Pragmaticus* revived, No.
1. June 30, 1651.” See Nichols’s *Lit. Anecd.* vol. iv. p. 48.

out suffering any of them to be otherwise disposed of upon any pretence whatsoever.

“ That a warrant be directed to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, to the purpose aforesaid.

“ That the like letter be directed to Mr. Thomas Bendish, an officer in the port of Yarmouth, to take care of searching for the abovesaid booke, which is expected to come out of Holland.

“ 1649-50. Jan 8. Ordered, that one hundred pounds bee paid to Mr. Thomas Waring for his paines and charge in compiling of a booke containing severall examinations of the *Bloody Massacre in Ireland*.

“ That Mr. Milton doe confer with some printers or stationers ^f concerning the speedy printing of this booke, and give an accompt of what he hath done therein to the Councell.

“ That Mr. Milton doe prepare something in answer to the booke of Salmasius, and when he hath done itt bring itt to the Councell.”

The Orders of Council have thus brought before us the great poet receiving directions to answer the

^f Nothing is known of such an employment by Milton.

Defensio Regia of Salmasius. But it is remarkable that no preceding command, or request, is found in these memorials, respecting the answer which Milton produced, in the latter part of 1649, to the *Icôn Basilikè*, or *Portraiture of the late King in his Solitudes and Sufferings*. And yet these orders commence their date within six weeks after the martyrdom of Charles; at a time too, when the impression made upon the publick mind by the appearance of the *Icôn* was very great, and new editions of it were weekly if not daily passing through the press. That he was however desired, or invited, by the Council, (perhaps verbally,) to notice this popular publication, there can be no doubt. But he seems to have undertaken it upon his own terms: "I take it upon me," he says, "as a work assigned, rather than by me chosen or affected; which was the cause both of *beginning it late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other employments and diversions*." So that the phrase which has been bestowed upon him, with other calumnies, of "a ^b *mercenary Iconoclast*," yet remains to be verified. If he was to be paid for this especial employment, the paymasters would hardly have allowed him to begin late, and finish leisurely, what some have pretended was immediately requisite; namely,

^a Iconoclastes, Pref.

^b So Milton was called by Dr. R. Watson in his Fuller Answer to Elymas the Sorcerer. See An Attempt towards the Character of King Charles I. 1738, p. 68.

a suppression of the book in question, or at least an arrest of its influence. Indeed, in these Orders of Council, not even a vote of thanks is recorded for his pains on the present occasion ; while for his reply to Salmasius, as we shall presently find, that compliment was studiously paid to him, though not the thousand pounds with which the controversy has hitherto been supposed to enrich him. But to resume the subject of the *Icón*. A suspicion that this book was not written by the king had been excited, before Milton published his *Iconoclastes*, by the author of a work, entitled “¹ *Icón Alethinè*, &c. *published to undeceive the world*,” early, I believe, in 1649. The object of this writer is to impeach the title of the king to the *Icón Basilikè*, and to assign it to a nameless divine. Thus Mr. Hayley says of Milton, that “the sagacity of the poet enabled him to discover that the pious work, imputed to the deceased king, was a political artifice to serve the cause of the royalists ; but as it was impossible for him to obtain such evidence to detect the imposition, as time has since produced, he executed a regular reply to the book, as a real production of the king, intimating at the same time his suspicion of the fraud.” His suspicion Milton has expressed in

¹ The full title is, “*Εἰκὼν Ἀληθινῇ*, The Portraiture of Truth’s most sacred Majesty truly suffering, though not solely ; wherein the false colours are washed off, wherewith the painter-stainer had bedaubed Truth, the late King, and the Parliament, in his counterfeit piece entitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλικῇ*. Published to undeceive the world. Lond. 1649.”

more instances, than those which have been cited by writers who treat his suspicion as of no account. Yet Clarendon, who doubtless had read the offensive *Iconoclastes* with attention, apparently regarded these instances; and therefore when he wrote to bishop Gauden, who seems to have been the ¹ author of the *Icon*, he could not but acknowledge, that the poet would be pleased by the discovery which would confirm his suspicion. But a heavy charge has been brought against Milton of having, in conjunction with Bradshawe, prevailed upon the printer of the *Icon* to interpolate a prayer, taken from the *Arcadia* of Sidney; with the view, it has been pretended, of bringing discredit upon the book. Yet, however severely and sarcastically Milton has reflected upon the memory of the king, he certainly added not this alleged insult. Justly has Dr. Newton observed, "I cannot but hope and believe that Milton had a soul above being guilty of so mean an action to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it on him, as he had to traduce the king 'for profaning the duty of prayer with the polluted trash of romances.' For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the king might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the ¹ Apostle might make quota-

¹ As I have endeavoured to shew in a Letter to his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1825.

¹ The same application to the case of St. Paul is made, though it probably was not known to Dr. Newton, in the *Εἰκὼν Ἀκλαστος*, The Image Unbroken, an answer to Milton's *Icono-*

tions from heathen poems and plays. And it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the king, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings." The king too, Dr. Newton might have added, is said to have been particularly fond of reading the "romance from which the prayer is taken; so that Lauder, in his miserable endeavour to convict Milton of the interpolation in question, is himself convicted, among other contradictions, of inaccuracy in stating with Mr. Wagstaffe, " *that it does not any where appear, that Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia was a book which the king used to read, or delight in.*" for, in 1693, Mr. Long of Exeter, a zealous royalist, expressly asserted, " *I have heard that the king for his recreation did divert himself by reading that book, (Sir P. Sidney's,) the best of its kind then extant; and he did it with great observation and improvement.*" But Milton is at once exonerated from the supposed imposture, which Dr. Birch also discredited, by the connection of Archbishop Juxon with the prayer which has been no-

clastes, in 1651. "By borrowing to a Christian use the words of a heathen philosopher and poet, did Saint Paul thereby unhallow and unchristian Scripture?" p. 82.

"His Majesty, in the time of his restraint, had also Ariosto, and Tasso, and Spenser, and the romance of Cassandra, among his books; as Sir Thomas Herbert, in his Memoirs, informs us.

"King Charles I. vindicated, &c. 1754, p. 32.

• Dr. Walker's Account of the Icon Bas. examined, p. 59.

ticed. For the complete editions of the *Icôn* present, in the title-page, "The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majestie, &c. *Together with his Private Prayers used in the time of his restraint, and delivered to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, immediately before his death.*" The favourable reception of the first copies of the *Icôn*, without the prayers, occasioned in the impressions of the book; which were ^p daily passing through the press, immediately after the martyrdom, the introduction of whatever could be collected, and might be judged proper, as illustrating the pious character of the king. And these prayers, which with other papers had been delivered by his Majesty to Juxon, had been ^q taken from the prelate at the time of the murder of the king. The name of Juxon, we may be sure, would not have been united with them, if it had not been true that the royal martyr gave them to him. Nor would Juxon for ever have been silent, if the prayer from the *Arcadia* had not been *one of them*. The answer to the *Icôn*, which leisurely, and amidst other avocations, Milton had thus produced, became an object of consideration to the Council, in March 1650-1, as to reprinting it; and

^p With the prayers, the *Icôn* was published certainly not very many days after the fatal 30th of January. Of twenty-nine impressions without the prayers, seventeen are said to have been printed in 1648-9. With the prayers, twenty-seven editions have been enumerated.

^q As related by Perrinchief in his *Life of K. Ch. I.* 3d ed. p. 225. "They forced from my lord of London *all those papers his Majesty had delivered to him.*"

accordingly a second edition *by authority* appeared. Yet still no direction for remuneration is found; while the order for a translation of it into French, soon afterwards, repeatedly couples with it the expression of reward.

" 1651. May 20. Ordered, that Mr. Durie^{*} doe proceed in the translating of Mr. Milton's booke, written in answer to the late king's booke, and that it be left to Mr. Frost to give him such reward for his paines as hee shall thinke fitt.

" 1652. Nov. 15. Ordered, that it be referred to Mr. Thurloe to consider of a fitt reward to be given to Mr. Durie for his paines, in translating into French the book written by Mr. Milton, in answer to that of the late king's, entitled His Meditations.

* John Durie, a Scotchman; by profession a divine, in orders, and a preacher; but whether he took them according to the way of the Church of England, which he always scrupled, A. Wood says, it appears not. He was a great pretender towards reconciling the Calvinists and Lutherans abroad, and is said to have been encouraged in his labour by Archbishop Laud. Wood refers to a letter of Durie to Hartlib, who was his friend, in which some of his history is to be found. In 1641 he sided with the Presbyterians, was a preacher before the Long Parliament, and one of the Assembly of Divines. Afterwards he joined himself to the Independents. He survived the restoration. See Wood's Ath. Ox. Fast. vol. i. col. 849. ed. 1691. He is the author of many publications. In his letters to Tho. Goodwin and Philip Nye, published in 1644, he relates "the true state of his negotiation with the Lutherans," &c. p. 1, et seq.

“ 1653. April 1. Ordered, that the Commissioners of the Customs doe permitt certain bookes written by Mr. Milton, in answer to the booke called the late king's, being translated into French to bee transported into France custom-free.”

The considerations arising from the production of Milton's *Iconoclastes*, have led us to overpass the regular chronology of the Orders of Council. We now return to the period, immediately subsequent to the publication of that book.

“ 1649-50. Feb. 2. Ordered, that orders * be sent to Mr. Baker, Mr. Challenor, Mr. Weckherlyn, Mr. Willingham, or any others who have in their hands any Publique Papers belonging to the Commonwealth, to deliver them to Mr. Milton, to be layd up in the Paper Office for Publique Service; and that Mr. Baker be appoynted to order those Papers, that they may be ready for use.

* The following letter was accordingly sent: “ Sir, Wee are informed that there are several Letters and other Papers of Publique Concernement, that are in your hands, which wee have thought fitt should be brought into the Paper Office at Whitehall, both for the safe keeping of them, and that they might be ready for publique use upon all occasions. Wee therefore desire you to deliver all the said Papers to Mr. Milton, whom wee have appointed to receive the same and see them safely and orderly disposed in the said Office. Signed in the name and by order of the Councill of State, &c. Jo: Bradshawe, President, Whitehall, 4 Feb. 1649-50.” This is a copy, among the above-written orders, of that which was directed to Mr. Willingham.

" 1649-50. ' Feb. 18. Ordered, that Mr. Milton, Secretary for Foreign Languages; Serjeant Dendy, Serjeant at Armes; Mr. Frost the younger, Assistant to Mr. Frost the Secretary; and all the Clerks formerly employed under Mr. Frost, as also the messengers, and all other officers employed by the Councell last yeare, and not dismissed; shall be againe entertained into the same employments, and shall receive the same salary which was appointed them the yeare past.,

" 1649-50. Feb. 23. Memorandum, that Mr. John Milton, Secretarie for the Forreigne Languages; Mr. Edward Dendie, Serjeant at Armes; and Mr. Gwalter Frost the younger, Assistant to the Secretary; did this day take the engagement following: I, being nominated by this Councell to bee ——— for the year to come, doe promise in the sight of God, that through his grace I will bee faithfull in the performance of the trust committed unto mee, and not reveale or disclose any thing, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon in the Councell, without the command, direction, or allowance of the Parliament or Councell.

' Bradshawe, in a letter to Cromwell, dated as above, says, " We are now beginning with a *new councell another yeare*. I might have hoped, either for love or something els, *to have been spared from the chayre*; but I could not obtaine that favour; and I dare not but submyt, where it is cleere to me God gives the call," &c. Original Letters, found among the Political Collections of Milton, published by J. Nickolls, 1743, p. 65.

“ 1650. March 30. Ordered, that it be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale to give order for the preparing of a commission to Mr. Richard Bradshaw, who is to be employed Resident from this Commonwealth to the Senate of Hamburgh according to the Order of Parliament.

“ That a credential Letter be likewise “ prepared for him by Mr. Milton.

“ 1650. May 6. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe attend the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale with the Papers given in by Dr. Walsall concerning the goods of *Felo's de se*; to whom it is referred to take such course therein, for the advantage of the Commonwealth, as they shall thinke fitt.

“ 1650. June 14. Ordered, that Mr. Milton shall have a “ warrant to the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the king's goods for the furnishing of his lodgeing at Whitehall with some hangings.

* This letter, it appears, was “ read and approved, April 1, 1650.” It is among the printed *Literæ Senatûs*, &c. of Milton; and there dated April 2.

* The copy of the warrant is inserted, after this order, bearing date, June 18, 1650. “ These are to will and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto Mr. John Milton, or to whom hee shall appoint, such hangings as shall be sufficient for the furnishing of his lodgings at Whitehall. *To the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the late King's goods.*”

“ 1650. June 22. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe goe to the Committee of the Armie, and desire them to send to this Councell the booke of Examinations taken about the riseings in Kent and Essex.

“ 1650. June 25. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe peruse the Examinations taken by the Army concerning the insurrections in Essex; and that he doe take heads of the same, to the end the Councell may judge what is to be taken into consideration.

“ 1650. June 26. Ordered, that the Declaration of the Parliament against the Dutch be translated into Latine by Mr. Milton, into Dutch by Mr. ^v Haak, and into French by Monsieur Augier.

“ 1650. Aug. 14. Ordered, that Mr. Thomas Goodwyn, Mr. Bifield, Mr. Bond, Mr. Nye, Mr. Durye, Mr. Frost, and Mr. Milton, or any three of them, of which Mr. Frost or Mr. Milton to bee one, bee appointed to view and to inventorie all the re-

^v Mr. Theodore Haak translated the first six books of the *Paradise Lost* into High Dutch; which, Aubrey says, Fabricius had seen, and highly approved. The translation is in blank verse; and is believed to have been published in 1728. Haak was a man of great learning, acquainted with Usher, Selden, Walton, and all the admirable scholars of Milton's time. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society. Wood also mentions the translation of *Par. Lost*, which this distinguished foreigner had made. “ This virtuous and learned person,” Wood tells us, died in London in 1690 at the advanced age of 85. *Ath. Ox.* vol. ii. col. 643. ed. 1692.

cards, writings, and papers whatsoever, belonging to the Assembly of the Synod, to the end they may not be embezzelled, and may be forth coming for the use of the Commonwealth.

“ 1650. Dec. 23. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe print the treatise which he hath written, in answer to a late booke written by Salmasius against the proceedings of this Commonwealth.”

Then here is the point, to which whatever relates to the memorable controversy between Milton and Salmasius should be drawn; and therefore, leaving awhile (as before in the detail of the *Icōn* history) the chronological order of entries in the Council-Book, I will deliver an uninterrupted narrative of this literary combat, and of circumstances connected with it.

King Charles the second, being now protected in Holland, had employed this learned Frenchman, Salmasius, who was professor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his late father, and of monarchy. “ Salmasius,” Dr. Johnson observes, “ was a man of skill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and sagacity of emendatory criticism, almost exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by excessive praises, been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much considered the principles of society, or the rights of government, undertook the employment

without distrust of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published the *Defensio Regia*." It is certainly remarkable that Salmasius, the pensioner to a republic, should write a vindication of monarchy. The States indeed ordered it to be suppressed. Before he had proceeded in his work, he was thus cautioned by his friend Sarravius: * "Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ aggredieris, Defensionem dico nuper occisi Britanniarum Regis; *maximè cum vestri Ordines mediam viam secent*. Laudo tamen animi tui generosum propositum, quo nefandum scelus apertè damnare sustines. Hac tamen te cautione uti opus est, ne ita Majestatem Regiam extollas, ut erga subditos amorem videatur illis gratis largiri." From the correspondence of this learned Frenchman with Salmasius we learn some curious particulars respecting the work, which occasioned Milton's elaborate answer. Sarravius advised him to read the *Icon Basilikè*, as subservient to his purpose; a book, he says, which he had read with the highest admiration; * "adeò in ea [Icône] plena omnia bonitatis erga subditos eximiæ, et in Deum pietatis. Ex eo libro potueris non pauca depromere Apologetico tuo firmando." After the *Defensio Regia* had been published, he informs him of the blame attached to him for not having sent a copy to the widowed queen of

* M. Gudii et C. Sarravii, Epistolæ. Ultrajecti, 1697. Sarrav. Ep. cxcviii. p. 203.

* Ibid. Ep. ccv. p. 210.

Charles ; ^b *who, though poor, would yet have paid the bearer.* Sarravius informs him also of ^c reported antagonists, long before Milton appeared against him. Milton indeed commenced his hostile operation immediately on the publication of Salmasius's defence, as he had been directed by an order of council, already cited, Jan. 8, 1649-50. But the various interruptions, which he mentions in the eloquent Preface to his *Defensio Populi*, prevented the *publication* of his opposition till the beginning of the year 1651.

Hobbes is said to have declared himself unable to ^d decide whose language was best, or whose argu-

^b Ibid. Ep. ccxxiii. p. 223. "Vidi nobilem Anglum expostulantem, quòd omiseris unum exemplum mittere ad defuncti Caroli viduam, quæ hîc [Paris.] degit ; *Quamvis enim, inqueiebat, sit in re minime lautâ, tamen potuisse solvere pretium tabellarii, qui illud attulisset.*"

^c Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvii. p. 235.

^d "Uterque, si Hobbio fides, Latino insignis, at rationibus vacuus." Comm. de Rebell. Angl. ab an. 1640, &c. à R. Manlio, Eq. Aur. 8vo. 1686. lib. ii. p. 226. It seems that they accused each other of grammatical blunders. I have heard of a copy of Salmasius's book, the margins of which are said to be decorated with barbarisms and solecisms detected by Milton. Without weighing the demerits of this kind, I will only observe, that Milton's criticisms appear to have occasioned the following sarcasm of the witty Butler. See Butler's Remains, edit. Thyer, vol. i. p. 220.

—— "Some polemicks use to draw their swords

"Against the language only and the words ;

"As he who fought at barriers with Salmasius,

"Engag'd with nothing but his style and phrases,

ments were worst. In Dr. Johnson's opinion, Milton's periods were smother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himself with teasing his adversary, as much as with confuting him. Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toulouse. But this procured it more readers. From a letter of Nicholas Heinsius to Isaac Vossius it appears to have been translated into Dutch, and to have been expected also in a French dress. Into our own language it was translated, at the close of the seventeenth century, by Mr. Washington of the Temple. Salmasius's book attracted much less notice. It has appeared indeed in different forms, both Latin and French; and, as it should seem from the correspondence of Sarravius, * in some editions with slight variations. Salmasius afterwards endeavoured to defend his cause, according to the testimony of Isaac Vossius, by a most unjustifiable attack upon the moral character of Milton while he resided in Italy: Both combatants indeed had betrayed too much personal malevolence: But it is to the disgrace of Salmasius that he should so far have forgotten himself as to confound the cham-

*“ Wav'd to assert the murder of a prince,
“ The author of false Latin to convince;
“ But laid the merits of the cause aside,
“ By those that understood them to be try'd;
“ And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing
“ More capital than to behead a king;
“ For which he has been admir'd by all the learn'd
“ Of knaves concern'd, and pedants unconcern'd!”*

* Ep. ut supr. ccxxxvi. p. 234.

pion with the assassin. Milton, for his performance, was complimented ¹ at home by the visits or invitations of all the foreign ministers at London, and by encomiastick letters from the most celebrated scholars abroad. It has been said also, first by Toland I believe, and subsequently by other biographers, that he received from the Council the present of a thousand pounds; a circumstance which I had credited. But Dr. Symmons acutely suspected the accuracy of this statement, by referring to Milton's own words in his *Defensio Secunda*: "Tuque scito illas *opimitates* atque *opes*, quas mihi exprobras, non attigisse, *neque eo nomine, quo maxime accusas, obolo factum ditiozem.*" The Council-Book confirms this assertion. "1651. June 18. Ordered, that thanks be given to Mr. Milton on the behalfe of the Commonwealth for his good services done in writing an answer to the booke of Salmasius, written against the proceedings of the Commonwealth of England." But all this is crossed over, and nearly three lines following are obliterated, in which, the accurate Mr. Lemon says, *a grant of money* was made to Milton. But after the cancelled passage, the regular entry thus follows: "The Councell takeing notice of the manie good services performed

¹ He perhaps lost the friendship of others on this occasion. Certain it seems that the amiable and learned Earl of Bridgewater, who had performed the part of the First Brother in his *Comus*, then disdained his acquaintance. On the title-page of the *Defensio*, now in the Marquis of Stafford's possession, that Nobleman has written, "*Liber igne, Author furca, dignissimi.*"

by Mr. John Milton, their Secretarie for Forreigne Languages, to this State and Commonwealth, *particularlie for his booke in vindication of the Parliament, and people of England, against the calumnies and invectives of Salmasius*, have thought fitt to declare their resentment and good acceptance of the same; and *that the thanks of the Councell bee returned to Mr. Mylton, and their sense represented in that behalfe.*" Christina, queen of Sweden, is said to have treated the *defender of monarchy* with coldness, after having read the *Defence of the People*: And Dr. Newton adds that Salmasius was dismissed from her Court with contempt. He was dismissed, or rather retired, not with degradation, but, as Dr. Johnson observes, with a train of attendance scarcely less than regal. Probably for the mean pleasure of tormenting Salmasius, this capricious monarch had commended Milton. After Salmasius's death, she assured his widow, by letter, that she had esteemed him as a father, and would never cease to honour his memory. Salmasius died in 1653 at Spa; having prepared a reply to Milton, without books, and by the sole help of memory^a; which, left as it was unfinished, was^b published by his son, with a dedication to the King, at

^a Vita et Epist. Cl. Salmasii, ab. Ant. Clementio, 1656. Vit. p. liii.

^b It appears to have been translated into English, and published at London in 1660. See bishop Kennet's Register, p. 270. "Salmasius's Dissection and Confutation of Milton."

the Restoration : It is more distinguished for abuse than argument.

It must not be omitted that Salmasius, in his *Defensio Regia*, had pressed hard upon his adversary in a particular point ; and that Milton, to maintain the point, was tempted to put on the fragile armour of untruth. A learned prelate, in modern times, has detected this diminished brightness of Milton. “¹ When Salmasius upbraided Cromwell’s faction with the tenets of the Brownists, the chosen advocate of that execrable faction [Milton] replied, that, if *they* were Brownists, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, and all the most celebrated theologians of the Orthodox, must be included in the same reproach. A grosser falsehood, as far as Luther, Calvin, and many others are concerned, never fell from the unprincipled pen of a party-writer. However sedition might be a part of the puritanick creed, the general faith of the Reformers rejects the infamous alliance.” Dr. Symmons, who to an edition of ^k Milton’s Prose Works prefixed a life of the author, is indignant at this accusation ; and protests against the rashness which incited the prelate to this violent paragraph ; with singular humanity also deploring the “¹ unhappy insertion” of it, pre-

¹ Appendix to Bishop Horsley’s Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, p. 38. I had inadvertently named bishop Watson, as the author of the passage in question ; a mistake, which others have followed.

^k Published in 1806.

¹ Life, p. 320.

ceded by my "harsh imputation," into my account of the great poet. No less desirous than Dr. Symmons to avoid misrepresentation in speaking of Milton, I copied what he advanced in maintenance of his pity and indignation, and left the *charge of rashness* to be appropriated as impartiality may direct.

"^m To refute this incautious charge," says Dr. Symmons, "nothing more can be necessary than the production of the passage in Milton's work, to which the reference is made. It concludes the fifth chapter of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and it stands independently of any thing which precedes it. 'Quereris enim postremis hisce seculis disciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam,' quod uni scilicet tyranno, cunctis legibus soluto, disciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere, impunè non liceat. Hanc doctrinam 'Brunistas inter reformatos' introduxisse ais: Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, et Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi theologi fuere, tuo judicio Brunistæ sunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cum in ecclesiæ doctores præstantissimos, totamque adeò ecclesiam reformatam, iisdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.' 'You complain,' addressing himself to Salmasius, says Milton, 'that in this last age the vigour of discipline is impaired and its right rule

^m Life, p. 321.

corrupted, because truly it is not in the power of one despot, released himself from the controul of all law, to relax with impunity the general discipline and to corrupt the morals of all. This doctrine, as you say, was first introduced among the reformed by the Brownists; so that, by your decision, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the most celebrated of the orthodox divines are included among the Brownists. The English, therefore, support your calumnies with the greater equanimity, when they hear you thus furious in your invectives against the most admirable doctors, and consequently against the body itself of the reformed church.—If we admit the premises of Milton, can we refuse our assent to his conclusion? If to contend for liberty against the tyranny of a single person be the distinction of a Brownist, the first reformers were, beyond all question, Brownists; for one of the principal objects of their liberal and enlightened contention was to break the despotism of the Court of Rome. Milton asserts nothing but the truth; and he is justified in bringing it forward by that part of his adversary's work to which he replies. The first reformers were not only strenuous in their opposition to the papal despotism, but were on all occasions warm advocates and supporters of the civil liberties of man.”—I subjoin Salmasius's own words. “*Postremis vero sæculis UT IN ALIIS REBUS ita et in hac mores, ut jam dictum, cum temporibus mutati sunt, disciplinæ vigor*

▪ Defensio Regia, edit. 12^{mo}. 1650, p. 166.

laxatus est, et regula corrupta. Quinimo extitere tandem pestes Rerum publicarum, regumque *μάρτυες*, et omnis à Deo ordinatæ potestatis hostes, sophistæ quidam qui contrariam illi, quæ à Christo tradita est, *doctrinam* introduxerunt *de occidendis quasi jure regibus si displicerent subjectis*. Tales in Pontificiis Jesuitæ, inter Reformatos qui vocantur ° INDEPENDENTES et *Brunistæ*." Milton's reply then is unquestionably evasive. And it has been thought an effort to vindicate his own party " P upon the same principles," as Dr. Watkins has well observed, " which induced the reformers to separate from the Church of Rome ; an artful manœuvre to put rebellion against the king, and the reformation from popery, upon the same footing." But I will not overpass the acute observation also of a recent ^a annotator on Dr. Newton's Life of the poet, that perhaps " the real offence of Milton consists in the usual sophistry of controversialists. His adversary having spoken of *sedition*, he speaks of *liberty*, and contends, that in advocating the principles of civil liberty, the Brownists agreed with the most orthodox of the first reformers."

That the death of Salmasius was hastened by the

° See this point before illustrated, in the present account. Salmasius speaks correctly.

P Characteristick Anecdotes of men of learning and genius, &c. 8vo. 1808, p. 214.

^a Mr. Edward Hawkins, Milton's Poet. Works, &c. 1824, vol. i. p. xlii.

neglect which he is said to have experienced, on the appearance of Milton's book, is by no means clear. His biographer, Clementius, gives a distinct account of the disorder which terminated his days, and to which he had long been subject, the gout. The supposed credit of destroying a literary antagonist may indeed be deducted, without injury, from the achievements of Milton.

The first reply to Milton's *Defensio Populi* was published in the same year, and was entitled, "Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis *Polypragmatici* (alias *Miltoni* Angli) Defensionem destructivam Regis et Populi." The author was unknown. Milton directed his younger nephew to answer it, who possibly prepared the first draught of a reply; which, before it went to press, was so carefully examined and corrected by Milton, that it may be considered almost as his own performance, although denominated "Johannis *Philippi* Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantissimam." This piece appeared in 1652. Bishop Bramhall is the ideal enemy with whom Phillips here encounters. Of so contemptible and barbarous a composition as

* Bentley justly observes, in the Preface to his Dissertation on Phalaris, that "he must be a young writer, and a young reader too, that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean thoughts of Salmasius, as they endeavour to make others have." Milton could once avow his respectful opinion of the "*industry of the learned Salmasius*." Reason of Ch. Gov. B. i. Ch. vi.

the *Apologia* that learned prelate could not be the writer. I have indeed discovered the real author; and the imputation whether of Milton, or his nephew, applied to this excellent bishop, must never more be named. Dr. Symmons is wholly mistaken in his supposed discovery of the author. I have the authority also of bishop Bramhall himself on my side*. But it was thought subservient perhaps to

* From the following work we learn the name of the author of the *Apologia*: “*Polemica sive Supplementum ad Apologiam anonymam pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, adversus Jo: Miltoni Defensionem Populi Anglicani, &c. Per Io: Rowlandum, Pastorem Anglicum. 1653.*” 12mo. In p. 47, the author begins to speak of his former book, and of himself: “*Æstimantur tamen plerumque libri authorum vel patronorum titulis, ut divites gemmis,*

————— ‘cui annulus ingens,

————— ‘atque ideò pluris quàm Cottus agebat.’

Et nisi typographis hoc supplementum vili venisset, qui egenti et nudo nullam laboris mei mercedem porrigere ausi sunt, vel præli impensas facere, suo luero metuentes, diu antehac *hanc secundam Apologiam* publici juris fecissem. Sed si Salmasius, vel Heinsius, vel quia magni nominis *mea* præfigeretur, sperno spretus, cum Heinsii Socratis pulchro fortasse pulchritudine certaret. Sed *meam* intra anni spatium decorticare periculum fecit *quidam Johannes, an alter et idem Miltonus? Philippus, vel Pseudo Philippus?* cui ratio non est quod ipse succenserem, qui, errando circa authorem *Apologiae*, *me* dignitate episcopali honoravit, et Episcopum *Dirreum*, aulicorum sacerdotum primipilum, omnium vitiorum labe maculavit.—Quoad cætera, *Philippus*, levis veles, in tricis et quisquiliis ferè totum se exercet circa linguæ Latinæ puritatem, cum mihi à 14 annis nec grammatica nec dictionarium fuerit, quàm quæ cerebro meo mecum circumferre possim; et tamen hisce phantasmatibus, verbis, et tropis incauti lectores capiuntur, tanquàm Prisciani vel Despauterij causa ageretur, qui, quoniam in re tam seriâ tam pueriliter ineptit, non

the consequence of the cause, to exhibit its nameless opponent as a man of the most distinguished talents. In this year Sir Robert Filmer's *Animadversions on Milton's Defensio*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and Grotius's *De Jure Belli*, were likewise published. They were unnoticed by Milton. In 1652 also, the following publication appeared in 'Dublin against

aliud à me responsum expectabit quàm quod hoc disticho comprehendam :

*Phy nota, fœtoris Lippus malus omnibus horis,
Et malus et Lippus, totus malus ergo Philippus.*

Non sum enim Johannes Bramalius Episcopus Dirræus aulicus, sed *Johannes Rowlandus* Anglicus, Pastor Ecclesiæ particularis, et tamen nominis mei me non pudet, quod in Ecclesiæ orthodoxum, olim in proverbium cessit, *Rowlandus pro Olivero*," &c. Cap. 5. Ad fin.—I have now to communicate bishop Bramhall's own remark, obligingly transmitted to me from Ireland, before the second edition of this account was published, by the Rev. Edward Berwick, (of Esker near Leixlip,) who, in looking over some original letters of the bishop, discovered the information in one of them addressed to his son under an assumed name, and dated at Antwerpe in May 1654. "That silly book which he [Milton] ascribes to me, was written by one John Rowland, who since hath replied upon him. I never read a word either of the first book or of the replie in my life."

' This is an extremely rare book, though of no great importance as to the discussion of the controversy. I had long sought for it in vain. The kindness of B. H. Bright, Esq., of Cadogan Place, has lately supplied me with it. It is dedicated to King Charles II., and the author tells his majesty, "*Obmutuisse mihi nimium Salmasius videtur, à Miltonio petitus, quamvis acer sit, et sedulus calumniarum vindex. Ejus partes, impar licet, suscepit tamen*," &c. For himself and both the combatants he says, "Non ego in injurias et maledicta descendam, Miltoni sequutus exemplum : ludimagistrorum, et mulierum inter se altercantium, consuetudo est ; non eruditorum, quales Salmasius et Miltonius,"

him : " Carolus I. à seçuri et calamo *Miltonii* vindicatus." And in 1653, at Leyden. " Caspari Ziegleri Lipsiensis circa Regicidium Anglorum exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi Schalleri Dissertatio ad loca quædam *Miltoni*." Ziegler has thought proper thus to insult the great poet : " Jam verò, in dictis S. Scripturæ interpolandis et enervandis, quantus artifex est Miltonus ! *Jesuitis felicior, ipso Diabolo audacior !*" And addresses this *Ad Lectorem Benevolum !* Schaller is not disposed to abuse.

From the Salmasian controversy we now return to Milton in the exercise of other official employment.

" 1650-1. Feb. 10. Ordered, that the " way of

p. 2. He distributes the contents of his little book into seven answers to as many charges brought against King Charles I. by Milton. Among other hasty assertions, he describes the poet as having dismissed his wife through jealousy. The title describes the book as printed " Dublini, apud Liberum Correctorem, Via Regia, sub signo Solutæ Fascis." small 12mo. 118 pages.

" See the published *Literæ Senatûs* &c. of Milton, making inquiries of this person as to the object of his mission ; his powers or character, whether of ambassador, or agent, or envoy, &c. "*Internuntio Portugallio*," the letter not dated ; but it must have been after Dec. 24, 1650, because Bradshawe, in a letter of that date says, " we are busied with preparing reception for ambassadors ; one from Portugall being upon his way from Southampton hither, the Parliament according to his desyre having sent him their safe-conduct, &c. Some thought, it would have been fitt to have knowne of the *Portugall Minister*, whether he had been furnished with power to have treated touching satisfaction for damages &c. done to this nation, and to have seen a copy of his

treating with the Publique Minister of Portugall be by a Committee of the Councell, consisting of such a number as the Councell shall thinke fitt, in reference to the quality of the said Minister.

“ That Mr. Milton, the Secretary for Forreigne Languages be appointed to attend the Committee at their meetings, and that Joseph Frost be employed for such writing as the Committee shall have occasion for in this business.

“ 1650-1. Feb. 18. Ordered, that Mr. John Milton be Secretary for the Forreigne Languages for the time of the Councell.

“ 1650-1. March 5. Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee of Examinations to viewe over Mr. Milton's * booke, and give order for reprinting of it, if they thinke fitt.

credentials, before a safe-conduct granted,” &c. ‘Letters of State, ut supr. among Milton's Papers, 1743, p. 39. Sir Henry Vane too, in a letter dated Dec. 28, 1650, observes that “the Parliament had appointed a Committee to consider whether the Portugall envoye shall be heard in the House, or at a Committee, enclining rather unto the latter.” Ibid. p. 41.

* The *Iconoclastes*: the second edition of which with additions is said to bear the date of 1650. See Baron's edition of it, 1770. Pref. p. 1. But 1650-1. is the true date, though 1650 be alleged, in the title-page; and then in 1651 came out the answer to it, entitled *Εἰκὼν Ἀκλαστος*; as upon another reprint of it in his Prose-Works, in 1692, an answer called *Vindiciæ Caroline* appeared.

“ 1651. March 27. Ordered, that the letters that are to be sent to the Ambassadour of Spain shall be sent unto him by Mr. Milton.

“ 1651. March 28. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe translate the *Intercursus Magnus*, which he is to have from Sir Henry Vane.

“ 1651. April 4. Ordered, that such dispatches as come to this Councell from forreigne parts, in any forreigne tongue, are to bee translated for the use of the Councell.

“ 1651. April 10. Ordered, that Mr. Vaux bee sent unto, to lett him know that hee is to forbear the removeing of Mr. Milton out of his lodgings in Whitehall, untill Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir Gilbert Pickering shall have spoken with the Committee concerning that businesse.

“ 1651. April 23. Ordered, that the paper, now read, to be sent to the Minister of Portugall, bee translated into Latin; and the English copie to bee signed by Mr. Frost, and sent unto him.

“ 1651. May 16. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe repaire to the Publique Minister of Portugall, and desire of him, from the Councell, a lyst of the names of such persons as hee desires to carrie with him as his retinue, that the same may bee affixed to his passe.

“ 1651. May 30. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe translate the Petition of Alderman ^v Dethick, and the Letter of the Councill to the Spanish Ambassador, into Latin, that the same may be sent to the sayd Ambassador, according to former order.

“ 1651. June 11. Ordered, that Lieutenant Gen. Fleetwood, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Alderman Allen, and Mr. Chaloner, or anie two of them, bee appointed a Committee to goe from this Councill to the Committee of Parliament for Whitehall, to acquaint them with the case of Mr. Milton, in regard of their positive order for his speedie remove out of his lodgings in Whitehall; and to endeavour with them, that the said Mr. Milton may bee continued where hee is, in regard of the employment which hee is in to the Councill, which necessitates him to reside neere the Councill.”

By his biographers Milton has been usually represented, as removing from his apartments in Scotland-yard, (called in the preceding orders, his lodgings in Whitehall,) on account of his health being impaired. Phillips, his nephew, here hesitates, however, in his narrative. “ From his apartment in Scotland-yard,” he says, “ whether Milton thought it not healthy, or otherwise convenient for his use, or whatever else was the reason, he soon after took a pretty garden-

^v See the *Literæ Oliverii Prot.* dated May 1656, where another petition of Dethick, then lord mayor, is part of the subject of a letter to the king of France.

house in Petty-France in Westminster, next door to the lord Scudamore's opening into St. James's Park." The reason of his removal is explained in the order of Council, which has just been cited; with which Phillips was evidently unacquainted. We follow him then to his garden-house, in which he continued till within a few weeks of the Restoration.

From June till December 1651 no entry, relating to him, occurs in the Council-book. On the 29th of the latter month, it is ordered, "*that Mr. Milton be continued Secretarie for Forreigne Languages to this Councell for this yeare to come.*" In this interval of six months, he was suffering under the near approach of total blindness, the symptoms of which he has minutely described, in 1654, to his friend Leonard Philaras; adding, that *his left eye began to fail some years before the other*. Of that eye he is accordingly said to have lost the use in 1651. But he still exercised the duties of his station; in which, however, about this time, the nephew, whom we have just seen as a controversialist in behalf of his uncle, probably became, in the quality of * clerk, a considerable assistant.

" 1651-2. Jan. 2. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe prepare a Letter in Latine, of the substance of what

* See the note, in a subsequent page, on the order of July 29, 1652.

was now read here in English, to be ^a sent to the Duke of Tuscany, to be brought to the Councell, to be there read, for the approbation of the Councell.

“ 1651-2. Jan. 23. Ordered, that Mr. Milton doe make a translate of the paper this day sent in to the Councell from the lords ambassadors of the High and Mighty Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces ; which the Committee for Foreign Affaires are to take into consideration, and prepare an answer thereto, to be reported to the Councell.

“ 1651-2. March 3. Ordered, that the Letter now read, which is prepared to be ^b sent to the Queen of Sweden along with the agent intended to

^a See the published *Literæ Senatûs* &c. of Milton, “Parlamentum Reipub. Angl. &c. Duci Etruriæ salutem.” Signed, W. Lenthall, Speaker, &c. and dated Jan. 20, 1651, (i. e. 1651-2.)

^b See the published *Literæ Senatûs* &c. of Milton, Parl. Reip. Angl. Christinæ Suecorum, &c. Reginæ. Dat. Westmon. die—Mart. 1651. Whether now, or at a subsequent opportunity, he addressed to this fantastick lady his celebrated verses, (*Bellipotens Virgo*, &c.) in the name of Cromwell, is uncertain. But that Milton was the author of these eight encomiastick lines, and not Andrew Marvell, as some have contended, I think is most probable. Christina ceased to be queen of Sweden in 1654, and Marvell was not associated with Milton in the secretaryship before 1657. The verses are indeed printed in Marvell's Poems, which are said to have been printed from copies under his own hand-writing ; and there might have been a transcript of Milton's epigram, given to him perhaps after they became joint-secretaries. Milton also highly panegyrises Christina in his Prose-Works.

be sent thither, be humbly represented to the Parliament; and the lord Commissioner Whitelocke is desired to doe it accordingly; and that the copie of this Letter be translated into Latine.

“ 1651-2. March 8. Ordered, that the remainder of the Articles to bee offered to the Dutch ambassadors, which were not taken up this day, be taken up to-morrow in the afternoone the first businesse.

“ That soe many of the Articles, as are already passed, bee sent to Mr. Milton to be translated into Latine.

“ 1651-2. March 9. Ordered, that the Articles, now read, in answer to the thirty-six Articles offered to the Councill by the Dutch ambassadours, bee translated into Latine by Thursday next in the afternoone.

“ 1652. March 31. Ordered, that the Paper, now prepared to be given in answer to the Spanish ambassadour, bee approved, translated, signed, and sent to him.

“ That Mr. Milton doe translate the ^d said Paper

* Between this and the preceding order the appointment of Mr. Weckherlyn, already noticed, is given; in which there is nothing relating to Milton.

^d See the *Literæ Senatûs*, &c. Ad Legatum Hispan. dat. March 21, 1652.

out of English into Latine, to be sent along, as a copie.

“ 1652. April 7. Ordered, that the answer to the King of Denmarke, now read, bee approved of, and translated into Latine by Mr. Weckerlyn.

“ 1652. April 15. Ordered, that the Paper, now read, to be sent to the Dutch ambassadours, bee approved of, and sent to Mr. Milton to be translated into Latine.

“ 1652. April 21. Ordered, that the Latine letter, now read, to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, be approved, faire written, signed, and sent; and delivered to the parties concerned.

“ 1652. April 27. Ordered, that the Paper, which was read in answer to the last Paper from the Dutch ambassadours, be approved of, faire written, and signed.

“ That the Latine translation of the Paper, now read, be approved, and sent alonge with the other.

“ 1652. April 28. Ordered, that the Paper, now read, to be given to the Dutch ambassadours by the Commissioners appointed to treat with them, bee approved of; and that it be translated into Latine, the English copye signed, and both Latyne and

English copyes are to be kept untill they shall be called for by the lord Commissioner Whitelock.

“ 1652. May 26. Ordered, that the answers to the Paper, delivered unto the Commissioners of the Councill, appointed on that behalfe, by Monsieur Applebom, Publique Minister of the Queene of Sweden; and also the answers to the Queene of Sweden, now reported to the Councill from the Committee of Forreigne Affaires; be translated into Latine, and humbly represented to Parliament for their approbation.

“ 1652. July 6. Ordered, that the Articles now read, and reported from the Committee of Forreigne Affaires, in answer to the proposalls of the Danish ambassadours; and alsoe the Articles, prepared to be given to the said ambassadours from the Councill; bee approved of, and translated into Latine.

1652. July 13. Ordered, that Mr. Thurloe doe appoint fitt persons to translate the Parliament's declaration into Latine, French, and Dutch.

“ 1652. July 20. Memorandum, send to Mr. Dugard to speake with Mr. Milton concerning the printing the declaration.

“ Mem. send to Mr. Milton the order, made on

“ They are in the published *Literæ Senatûs* &c. of Milton.

Lord's Day last was sevensnight, concerning doctor Walker.

" 1652. July 29. Ordered, that a copie of the Declaration of Parliament, concerning the business of the Dutch, bee sent to each of the ambassadours and publique ministers in towne, and alsoe to the publique ministers of this Commonwealth abroad.

" 1652. Aug. 10. Ordered, that the Paper, now

' Before this Declaration had been published, and after hostilities had taken place, one of the captains of the English fleet thus addressed Cromwell: " My Lord, I find the most, and indeed those that are best principled and most conscientious of our commanders, *doe much desire some information of the justness of our quarrell with the Hollander*, which they doe not in the least doubt of; yett I find them somewhat troubled and dejected for theyr ignorance in that poynt, &c. Your Excellencyes most faithful servant, WILL. PENN. From on board the Tryumph in the Downes, 2 June 1652." Orig. State-Letters, &c. preserved by Milton, ut *supr.* p. 87.

Edward Phillips, the biographer of his uncle Milton, relates a curious circumstance too respecting the Dutch business; in which the situation of his brother John, as a clerk or assistant under his uncle, seems to be intended. " Before the war broke out between the States of England and the Dutch," Phillips says, " the Hollanders sent over three ambassadours in order to an accomodation; but they returning *re infectâ*, the Dutch sent away a plenipotentiary, to offer peace upon much milder terms, or at least to gain more time. But this plenipotentiary could not make such haste, but that the Parliament had procured a copy of their instructions in Holland, *which were delivered by our author to his kinsman that was then with him, to translate for the Council to view*, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England," &c. *Life of Milton.*

read, in answer to the Paper of the Spanish ambassadour, bee approved of, translated into Latin, and sent to the lord ambassadour of Spaine by Sir Oliver Fleming.

“ 1652. Oct. 1. Ordered, that the Answer, now read, to be given to the Danish ambassadours from the Councill, bee approved of; and that it be translated into Latine, and sent to the said ambassadours.

“ 1652. Oct. 7. Ordered, that the Paper, this day given in to the Councill by the lord ambassadour from the King of Portugall, be translated by Mr. Milton into English, and brought in to the Councill to-morrow afternoone.

“ 1652. Oct. 21. Ordered, that the Paper, now read, to bee sent to the Portugall ambassadour, bee approved of, translated into Latine, and carried to the said ambassadour by Sir Oliver Fleming, Master of the Ceremonies.

“ 1652. Oct. 22. Ordered, that the Paper, signed by Mr. Speaker, to bee sent to the Danish ambassadours, bee translated into Latine, and sent unto them by Sir Oliver Fleming.

“ 1652. Oct. 28. Ordered, that the Paper, now read to the Councill, to be given in to the Portugall ambassadour to-morrow in the afternoone by the Committee of the Councill appointed to that purpose, bee

translated into Latine, and delivered by them to the said ambassadour.

“ 1652. Nov. 3. Ordered, that the Letter, now read, which is to bee sent to the King of Denmark, bee approved of and translated into Latine, and offered to Mr. Speaker to bee signed by him; and the lord President is desired to offer it to him.

“ 1652. Nov. 19. Ordered, that the Paper, now read at the Councell, in answer to the Paper delivered in to the Councell from the Portugal ambassadour, bee approved of and translated into Latine, and delivered by the Committee of this Councell to the Portugal ambassadour.

“ 1652. Dec. 1. Ordered, *that Mr. Milton be continued in the employment he had the last yeare, and have the same allowance for it as he had the last yeare.*”

We have thus brought the great poet to the close of the year 1652, in which his sight was wholly lost to him. For he is inhumanly upbraided with his blindness in Du Moulin's *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*, published in 1652; and in Thurloe's *State-Papers*, the fact is coupled with his celebrity, in a letter from the Hague, dated 20 Jun. 1653. “ Vous avez en Angleterre *un aveugle* nommé Milton, qui a le renom d'avoir bien escrit.” He himself has^s told us,

^s In his *Defensio Secunda*.

that his opponents triumphantly considered his loss of sight as a judgement from heaven upon him for writing against the King ; while he solemnly appeals to God, that what he had written he believed to have been right and true ; and that he was influenced neither by ambition, nor a thirst of gain, but entirely by duty, and honour, and love of his country. The reproach was long afterwards revived, when milder topicks might have better suited the occasion which elicited it, and have suppressed before a Christian audience the ^a solemn utterance of an uncharitable and rash opinion. The fact is, Milton's eyes had been gradually failing, long before he had written or even thought of writing against the King, owing to the midnight studies of his youth ; " the wearisome labours and *studious watchings*," as he feelingly calls them, " wherein I have spent and tired out *almost a whole youth*." For soon after this complaint, which his *Apology for Smectymnuus* records, the dreaded evil was at hand ; and from 1644 his sight was on the decline. He had been cautioned by his physicians, while he was writing his *Defence of the People*, to desist from the task, if he valued the preservation of his sight ; but he was undismayed

^a In a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Exeter by Thomas Long, one of the Prebendaries, 1684, p. 14. " For my part," he says, " I shall like it (the *Icon Basilikè*) better for that which scurrilous Milton said to defame it ; viz. ' that the king's party admired it, and were stricken with such blindness, as, next to the darkness of Egypt, happened not to any people more gross or misleading.' For which saying, perhaps it was, that Milton himself was smitten with blindness long before his death !"

by their opinion, and did not hesitate to prefer what he thought his duty to his eyes ; and, after their orbs were quenched, he nobly tells us, that, while he despised the resentment of those who rebuked his darkness, he did not want the charity to forgive them. At the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras, a celebrated Athenian, and ambassadour from the Duke of Parma at Paris, (who had written an encomium of his *Defence*,) he sent him a particular account of his calamity ; not without an expectation, which alas ! was never gratified, of deriving benefit from the opinion of Thevenot, a physician particularly distinguished as an oculist. Milton's curious and admirable letter, which is the fifteenth of his Latin epistles, has been translated by Mr. Richardson and Mr. Hayley. In the more attractive language of the latter, I submit it to the reader.

“ As I have cherished from my childhood (if ever mortal did) a reverential fondness for the Grecian name, and for your native Athens in particular, so have I continually persuaded myself, that at some period I should receive from that city a very signal return for my benevolent regard : nor has the ancient genius of your most noble country failed to realize my presage ; he has given me in you an Attick brother, and one most tenderly attached to me. Though I was known to you only by my writings, and though your residence was far distant from mine, you first addressed me in the most engaging terms by letter ; and afterwards coming unexpectedly to London, and

visiting the stranger, who had no eyes to see you, continued your kindness to me under that calamity, which can render me a more eligible friend to no one, and to many, perhaps, may make me an object of disregard.

“ Since, therefore, you request me not to reject all hope of recovering my sight, as you have an intimate friend at Paris, in Thevenot the physician, who excels particularly in relieving ocular complaints, and whom you wish to consult concerning my eyes, after receiving from me such an account as may enable him to understand the source and symptoms of my disorder, I will certainly follow your kind suggestion, that I may not appear to reject assistance thus offered me, perhaps providentially.

“ It is about ten years, I think, since I perceived my sight to grow weak and dim, finding at the same time my intestines afflicted with flatulence and oppression.

“ Even in the morning, if I began as usual to read, my eyes immediately suffered pain, and seemed to shrink from reading, but, after some moderate bodily exercise, were refreshed; whenever I looked at a candle I saw a sort of iris around it. Not long afterwards, on the left side of my left eye (which began to fail some years before the other) a darkness arose, that hid from me all things on that side;—if I chanced to close my right eye, whatever was be-

fore me seemed diminished.—In the last three years, as my remaining eye failed by degrees some months before my sight was utterly gone, all things that I could discern, though I moved not myself, appeared to fluctuate, now to the right, now to the left. Obstinate vapours seem to have settled all over my forehead and my temples, overwhelming my eyes with a sort of sleepy heaviness, especially after food, till the evening; so that I frequently recollect the condition of the prophet Phineus in the *Argonauticks* :

———— ‘ Him vapours dark
‘ Envelop’d, and the earth appeared to roll
‘ Beneath him, sinking in a lifeless trance.’

But I should not omit to say, that while I had some little sight remaining, as soon as I went to bed, and reclined on either side, a copious light used to dart from my closed eyes; then, as my sight grew daily less, darker colours seemed to burst forth with vehemence, and a kind of internal noise; but now, as if every thing lucid were extinguished, blackness, either absolute or chequered, and interwoven as it were with ash-colour, is accustomed to pour itself on my eyes; yet the darkness perpetually before them, as well during the night as in the day, seems always approaching rather to white than to black, admitting, as the eye rolls, a minute portion of light as through a crevice.

“ Though from your physician such a portion of hope also may arise, yet, as under an evil that admits

no cure, I regulate and tranquillize my mind, often reflecting, that since the days of darkness allotted to each, as the wise man reminds us, are many, hitherto my darkness, by the singular mercy of God, with the aid of study, leisure, and the kind conversation of my friends, is much less oppressive than the deadly darkness to which he alludes. For if, as it is written, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God, why should not a man acquiesce even in this? not thinking that he can derive light from his eyes alone, but esteeming himself sufficiently enlightened by the conduct or providence of God.

“As long therefore, as He looks forward, and provides for me as He does, and leads me backward and forward by the hand, as it were, through my whole life, shall I not cheerfully bid my eyes keep holiday, since such appears to be His pleasure? But whatever may be the event of your kindness, my dear Philaras, with a mind not less resolute and firm than if I were Lynceus himself, I bid you farewell. *Westminster*, Sept. 28, 1654.”

Thus “content, though blind,” he expressed himself with his usual animation. His mind, as Dr. Johnson remarks, was too strong to be subdued. With assistance for the duties of his office indeed he had, ¹ before this period, been provided; and his

¹ See the note on the order of July 29, 1652.

salary, we have seen, was continued. The year 1653, presents him not by name, in the orders of the Council-Book, employed as in the preceding years; though, towards the close of it, he is retained in office with undiminished reward. And therefore in the following transactions, till October, we may conclude that to him the letters were still sent for a Latin translation; a task, in which he would be assisted by his younger nephew. But to employment of this description Mr. Philip Meadows is also, in October, expressly delegated; when the official labours of Milton, no doubt, were lightened, but still occasionally required.

“ 1652-3. Feb. 2. Ordered, that the Letter, now read to the Duke of ^k Venice, bee approved of, translated into Latine, and sent to the Secretary of that Commonwealth, in order to be sent by him to Venice.

“ 1652-3. Feb. 4. Ordered, that the Articles, now read, to be propounded to the Portugall ambassadour, bee approved of, translated into Latine, and delivered to the said lord ambassadour.

“ 1653. June 28. Ordered, that the Paper, now read, in answer to the Paper of the lords Deputyes from the United Provinces, bee approved of, translated into Latin, and delivered unto them.

^k. See the *Litteræ Senatûs*, &c. in which this letter is dated in Dec. 1652.

“ 1653. Aug. 10. Ordered, that the Answer to the Paper of the lord Lagerfeldt, Publique Minister of the Queen of Sweden, of the 3^d. of August, now read in the Councell, bee translated into Latin, and delivered unto the said lord Lagerfeldt by the Committee of the Councell to-morrow in the after-noone.

“ 1653. Oct. 17. Ordered, that Mr. Philip Meadows, now employed by the Councell in Latin translations, doe alsoe assist Mr. Thurloe in the dispatch of the Forreigne businesse; and that he have in consideration thereof one hundred pounds per annum, to be added to the one hundred pounds per annum he now receives of the Councell.

“ 1653. Oct. 18. Ordered, that the Councell for Forreigne Affaires doe meet to-morrow morning, and take into consideration the several Papers which have been given in to this Councell from the lord Lagerfeldt, and what is fitt to be returned in answer to them; and to give order for the preparing of such answers as they shall think fitt, and to report them to the Councell with all convenient speed; and Mr. Meadows is to be sent unto to attend that Committee, who are to sit to-morrow morning by eight of the clocke.

“ 1653. Oct. 27. Ordered, that the Recredentiall, prepared for the lord Lagerfeldt, be approved of, translated into Latine, and reported to the Par-

liament, in pursuance of a former order of the Council.

“ 1653. Nov. 3. Ordered, *that Mr. John Milton doe remayne in the same capacity he was in to the last Councell, and that he have the same allowance for it as formerly.*”

Perhaps it was in 1653 that Milton lost his first wife; and that to this circumstance may be imputed the diminution of official reference to him in that year. He was probably indulged with leave of absence. All his biographers say, that he had not long been settled in the abode, which he had chosen in 1652, before this lady, the pardoned Eve of his own poem, died in childbed, leaving him three daughters. In the preceding year, or in 1650, he had lost an infant son. To a second wife he was not united before 1656. She also died in childbed, and ¹ within a year after their marriage. Milton honoured her memory with a Sonnet. She was the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney, and probably related to Francis Woodcock, one of the Assembly of Divines.

What remains to be told of Milton from the Council-Book, now follows.

¹ “ Mrs. Catharine Milton, wife to John Milton, Esq. buried, Feb. 10, 1657.” Bishop Kennet’s MS. Collections for St. Margaret’s Parish, Westminster, cited by Mr. Malcolm in his entertaining Hist. of London, vol. iv. p. 128.

“ 1653-4. Feb. 1. Ordered, that Friday next in the afternoone be assigned for receiving from Mr. Secretary Thurloe what he shall offer in reference to an establishment of the clerks and officers to attend the Councill.

“ 1653-4. Feb. 3. According to an order of Wednesday last, Mr. Secretary Thurloe did this day present to the Councill an establishment of under-clerkes and officers for attending and dispatch of the affaires of the Councill, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
“ Mr. Philip Meadowes, Latine Secretary, at per annum	200	0	0
“ The Serjeant at Armes, at twenty shillings per diem	365	0	0
“ Mr. Gualter Frost, Treasurer for the Councill's Contingencies, at per annum	400	0	0
“ Mr. Milton. [No salary is specified.]			
“ Seaven Under-Clerks, &c.			

“ 1654. Oct. 19. The English and Latin draught of a Letter from his Highnesse the lord Protector to the States Provinciaall of Zealand was this day read. Ordered, that it be offered to his Highnesse, as the advice of the Councill, that the said Letter (according to the Latin copie) be signed by his Highnesse, and sent to the said States Provinciaall, in answer of theirs to his Highnesse of the 7th of August last.

“ 1655. April 17. The Councell resumed the debate upon the Report made from the Committee of the Councell, to whom it was referred to consider of the establishment of the Councell's contingencies.

“ Ordered, that the salary of fower hundred pounds per annum graunted to Mr. Gualter Frost, as Treasurer for the Councell's contingencies, be reduced to three hundred pounds per annum, and be continued to be paid after that proportion till further order.

“ That the former yearly salary of Mr. John Milton, of two hundred eighty eight pounds &c. formerly charged on the Councell's contingencies, be reduced to one hundred and fiftie pounds per annum, and paid to him during his life out of his Highness's Exchequer.

“ That it be offered to his Highness, as the advice of the Councell, that several warrants be issued under the Great Seale for authorising and requiring the Commissioners of his Highness's treasury to pay, by quarterly payments, at the receipt of his Highness's Exchequer, to the several officers, clerkes, and other persons afternamed, according to the proportions formerly allowed them for their salaries, in respect of their severall and respective offices and employments, or till his Highness or the Councell shall give other order : That is to say,

£. s. d.

“ To John Thurloe Esq. Secretary
of State, for his own fee, after the
proportion of } 800 0 0
per annum.

“ For the fee of Mr. Phillip Meadows,
Secretary for the Latin Tongue, } 200 0 0
after the rate of } per annum.

“ For the salary of ——— Clerkes attending the
office, at *6s. 8d.* p diem apiece,” &c.

From this time, Dr. Sumner says, “^m it is presumed that Milton ceased to be employed in publick business, as his name does not again occur in the Books of the Council of State, which continue in uninterrupted succession till the 2nd of September, 1658, the day preceding the death of Cromwell.” The reduction too of Milton’s salary from nearly three hundred pounds to half that sum “ must have been intended,” it has also been urged, “ *as a retiring pension in consideration of past services* ; as is evident from the appointment of a successor, (Mr. Meadows,) at a reduced salary, to discharge the duties of his office.” I venture to think, however, that Milton still retained the name and the divided duty of the secretaryship. We have proof, that long after the date of April 1655, his matchless pen was officially required, and was ready. Witness his elegant and feeling letters written in the name of the Pro-

^m Introduction to Milton’s Treatise on Christian Doctrine, 1825, p. ii.

tector throughout that year, and the three following. And if such splendid evidence of his talents thus publicly employed had been wanting, he is also found, after the death of Oliver, remunerated for his services, which then had been divided with those of Andrew Marvell, as before they had been with those of Philip Meadows, not with the reduced sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, but with ^a that of two hundred. Hence the letters also, in 1658 and 1659, written in the name of the Protector Richard. To him likewise had been sent the Articles of the Swedish Treaty, as Whitlock informs us, in 1656, in order to a Latin translation of them; when, it is curious to observe the sequel, the Swedish ambassador said, “^o that it seemed strange to him there should be *none but a blind man* capable of putting a few articles into Latine; The employment of Mr. Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the Council, fit for the imployment, were then absent.” In the year too of his supposed retirement, (1655,) he produced the ^p Manifesto of Oliver, declaring the reasons of the war with Spain, a performance rightly adjudged to him, Dr. Newton has observed, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the style, and because it was his province to write

^a See the order, presently cited, dat. Oct. 25, 1659.

^o Mem. p. 633. ed. 1682.

^p The Latin copy was first printed in 1655, afterwards in the collection of Milton's Prose-Works, and was published in an English translation in 1738, with Thomson's *Britannia* added to it; and of this translation there were two editions in the same year.

such things as Latin Secretary. Such was the continuation of his activity in the preceding year, in which he had published his "*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem libellum anonymum, cui titulus, Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.*"

Of the book, which had excited a reply so celebrated as the *Defensio Secunda* of Milton, some notice is necessary. The author was Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. He had transmitted his papers to Salmasius, by whom they were entrusted, for publication, to Alexander Morus. Du Moulin had been already in too much danger not to know the necessity of concealment. In the late King's service he had written his "*Apologie de la Religion Reformée, et de la Monarchie, et de l'Eglise d'Angleterre,*" &c. which, he has himself recorded, "^a was begun at York, during the siege, in a roome whose chimney was beaten downe by the cannon while I was at my work; and, after the siege and my expulsion from the rectory at Wheldrake, it was finisht in an underground cellar, *where I lay hid to avoyd warrants that were out against me from Committees to apprehend me and carry me prisoner to Hull.*—Much about the same time I set out my Latin

^a From the copy of his book in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, numbered L. iv. 50.; the first five leaves of which contain a manuscript relation, written with his own hand, of his services in the cause of royalty.

poeme *Ecclesiæ Gemitus* with a long epistle to all Christians in defence of the King and the Church of England; and two years after *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad caelum*." Here is a proof, that Milton had mistaken the publisher for the author. Milton, in this *Second Defence* has treated Morus both with severity and ridicule. Morus replied in his *Fides Publica*, into which were interwoven, with the vain hope of blunting the keenness of Milton's satire, testimonies of character, and a disavowal of the book. Du Moulin was now again in great danger. His dismayed publisher gave his enemies the means of discovering him; but they suffered him to escape, rather than they would publickly convict Milton of his error. Milton, on being informed that Du Moulin, and not Morus, was the author of the *Clamor*, is said to have replied, "Well! that was all one, he having writt it [his *Second Defence*], it should goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other." Morus, however, is still the object of his attack in his *Authoris pro se Defensio*, published in 1655, as a reply to the *Fides Publica*. Morus ventured to rejoin in a *Supplementum*, which was soon silenced by a brief *Responsio* from Milton; and the controversy closed.

Associated with Milton in the office of Latin Secretary, Andrew Marvell now presents himself to our notice in 1657; before which time, he tells us that he

Aubrey's Life of Milton.

" never had any, not the remotest, relation to public matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant;" but that he then " enter'd into an employment, for which he was not altogether improper, and which he considered to be the most innocent and inoffensive towards his Majesties affairs of any in *that usurped and irregular Government to which all men were then exposed*. And this he accordingly discharg'd without disobliging any one person; there having been opportunity and endeavours, since his Majesties happy return, to have discover'd had it been otherwise."

Yet an original letter from Milton to Bradshawe, in behalf of Marvell, carries us back to the commencement of the year 1653; which, however, appears not at that time to have been effectual as to its object; Mr. Philip Meadows, as we have seen, being then and in the two succeeding years named in the Orders of the Council as Latin Secretary, while of Marvell within that period there is no mention. But, to this application of Milton, Marvell, no doubt, owed his subsequent introduction into office. The letter, endorsed *For the Honourable the Lord Bradshaw*, remains in his Majesty's State-Paper Office, and was discovered while these pages were passing through the press by the gentleman, to whose zeal and accuracy I have been indebted for copies of the literary and political curi-

* Rehearsall Transpos'd, Sec. Part, p. 127.

osities which the present and the preceding section have exhibited, Mr. Lemon, the deputy keeper of the State-Papers; permitted as he has been, thus to exercise his kindness, by the concurrent condescension and promptness, which I am also proud to acknowledge, of Mr. Secretary Peel and Mr. Henry Hobhouse.

“ My Lord,

“ But that it would be an interruption to y^e publick, wherein yo^r studies are perpetually imployed, I should now and then venture to supply this my enforced absence wth a line or two, though it were my onely busines, and that would be noe slight one, to make my due acknowledgments of y^r many favoures; w^{ch} I both doe at this time, and ever shall: and have this farder, w^{ch} I thought my parte to let you know of, that there will be wth you to morrow, upon some occasion of busines, a Gentleman whose name is Mr. *Marvile*; a man whom both by report, and y^e converse I have had wth him, of singular desert for y^e State to make use of; who alsoe offers himselfe if y^{ere} be any imployment for him. His father was y^e Minister of Hull, and he hath spent foure yeares abroad in Holland, France, Italy, and Spaine, to very good purpose, as I beleeve, and y^e gaineing of those four languages; besides he is a scholler, and well read in y^e Latin and Greek authors; and noe doubt of an approved conversation, for he com's now lately out of y^e house of y^e Lord Fairefax, who was Generall, where he was intrusted to give some instructions in y^e Languages

to y^e Lady his Daughter. If upon y^e death of Mr.
 ‘ *Wakerley*, y^e Councell shall thinke y^t I shall need
 any assistant in y^e performance of my place (though
 for my p^t I find noe encumbrances of that w^{ch} be-
 longs to me, except it be in point of attendance at
 conferences wth Ambassadors, w^{ch} I must confesse,
 in my Condition, I am not fit for,) it would be hard
 for them to find a Man soe fit every way for y^e pur-
 pose as this Gentleman, one who I beleeeve in a short
 time would be able to doe them as good service as
 Mr. Ascan. This, my Lord, I write sincerely, with-
 out any other end than to performe my duty to y^e
 Publick, in helping them to an able servant; laying
 aside those jealousies, and that emulation, w^{ch} mine
 owne condition might suggest to me, by bringing in
 such a coadjutor; and remaine,

“ My Lord,

“ Yo^r. most obliged, and

“ Faithfull Servant,

“ JOHN MILTON. { Feb. y^e. 21,
 { 1652.”

Of Marvell’s regard for Milton, the verses, usually
 prefixed to *Paradise Lost*, are an elegant testimony.
 In the volume, from which I have made the preceding
 citation, are several anecdotes of Milton and his friends,
 not generally known, as Mr. Warton long since dis-
 covered. This second part of Marvell’s *Rehearsal*
Transpos’d, published in 1673, is an attack on Dr.

† Weckherlyn.

Samuel Parker, well known for his tergiversation with the times; and of whom it was once said that he "had wit enough to colour any thing though never so foule, and impudence enough to affirm any thing though never so false." When Marvell attacked him with sarcastick and successful raillery, Parker was an antipuritan in the extreme. Marvell thus expresses his honest indignation against Parker for traducing his friend Milton, p. 377. "You do three times at least in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transproser Rehearsed*, well nigh half the book thorow, run upon an author J. M., which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that *he* had a hand in my former book, [the first part of *The Rehearsall*, published in 1672,] wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extreamly. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but, after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend, the author of the *Common Places*, could have told you, (he too had a slash at J. M. upon my account,) that had *he* took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transprosal*.—But because in your 115. p. you are so

"Preface to "A Caveat to the Cavaliers," 1661.

particular *you know a friend of ours*, &c. intending THAT J. M. and his answer to Salmasius, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side; and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises.—At his Majesty's happy return, J. M. did partake, as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally.—Then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Morefields, astrologizing upon the duration of his Majesty's government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your scaramuccios, and in your own person, as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy an opportunity to do:—it is inhumanly and inhospitably done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say) such a Judas, but a man that creeps into all companies to

jeer, trepan, and betray them." Marvell, however, was mistaken in attributing the *Transproser Rehears'd* to Parker; which, as Mr. Warton remarks, was written by R. Leigh, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, but then a player. It was printed at Oxford in 1673, "*for the Assignes of Hugo Grotius, and Jacob Van Harmine, on the North-side of the Lake Lemane!*" A more scurrilous or indecent publication has seldom disgraced the press. The contemptible writer ridicules the *Paradise Lost*, because it is written *in blank verse*, p. 30; and for the same reason calls Milton a *schismatick in poetry*, p. 43. He describes the poet as *groping for a beam of light* in that sublime apostrophe, "*Hail, holy Light,*" &c. p. 43. And he reproaches him as *a Latin Secretary and an English School-master*, p. 128. With the obscenities of this scribbler I will not soil these pages. I must add that the *Reproof* in which Milton is called *a friend of ours*, was certainly written by Parker. But Parker's friendly voice was afterwards changed. Neither Milton nor Marvell, however, lived to read the abuse, which Parker bestows on both of them in his posthumous *Commentarii sui temporis*; of which Mr. Warton has given the following translated passage, relating to the pamphleteers against the royal party at Cromwell's accession.

"Among these calumniators was a rascal, one Marvell. As he had spent his youth in debauchery, so, from natural petulance, he became the tool of

faction in the quality of satyrist : yet with more scurrility than wit, and with a mediocrity of talents, but not of ill-nature. Turned out of doors by his father, expelled the university, a vagabond, a ragged and hungry poetaster, kicked and cudgelled in every tavern, he was daily chastised for his impudence. At length he was made under secretary to Cromwell, by the procuration of Milton, to whom he was a very acceptable character; on account of a similar malevolence of disposition," &c. B. iv. p. 275. This passage was perhaps written about the year 1680. *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Warton adds, had now been published thirteen years, and its excellencies must have been fully estimated and sufficiently known; yet in such terms of contempt, or rather neglect, was its author now described, by a popular writer, certainly a man of learning, and very soon afterwards a bishop. Parker became indeed a bishop; but he was also the obtruded president of Magdalene College, Oxford; the minion of a popish king.

The salary of Marvell was the same as Milton's; that is, in its last arrangement. For at a former period the allowance to the latter was of "higher mood." The orders of Cromwell in 1653-4, and of the Council in 1659, are curious illustrations of these circumstances; and with them what relates to Milton, as Latin Secretary, closes. They are entries in the books of the *Money Warrants* issued by order of the Council of State.

" 1653-4. Feb. 3. OLIVER, P.

" These are to will and require you, out of such moneys as are in or shall come to your hands for the use of the Councell, to pay unto the severall persons, on the other side endorsed, the severall sums to their names mentioned, making in all the summ of one thousand seventy eight pounds, twelve shillings, and a penny, being soe much due unto them on the 1st of January last, intended for their severall salaries; of which you are not to fayle, and for which this shall be your warrant. Given at Whitehall the 3d of Feb. 1653.

" To Mr. Gualter Frost.

	£.	s.	d.
" Mr. Secretary Thurloe for one quarter from the 2d of Oct. to the 1st of Jan. last included	200	0	0

" Mr. Jessop, 17 Oct. to the 1st of Jan. incl. 77 dayes	77	0	0
---	----	---	---

" Mr. Gualter Frost, as Secretary Assistant to the said Councell of State, from the same time to the 12th Dec. 71 dayes	71	0	0
---	----	---	---

" Mr. John Milton for halfe a yeare, from 4th July to the first of Jan. last inclusive, at 15s. 10½d. per diem	144	9	3
--	-----	---	---

" Mr. Philip Meadows, for one quarter from the 2d Oct. to 1st Jan.	50	0	0
--	----	---	---

" The Clarkes, &c.

1659. Oct. 25. A similar Warrant for payment of the Council of State's contingencies to the 22d of Oct. 1659.

		£.	s.	d.
" At 500 <i>l.</i> per annum each	{ Richard Deane . .	234	7	6
	{ Henry Scobell . .	234	7	6
	{ William Robinson	88	0	0
" At 1 <i>l.</i> per diem	Richard Kingdon .	86	0	0
" At 200 <i>l.</i> per annum each	{ John Milton . . .	86	12	0
	{ Andrew Marvill .	86	12	0."

Here then is the last payment for official employment to Milton; of whom his nephew about the same time says, that " a little before the king's coming over he was sequestered from his office of Latin secretary, and *the salary thereunto belonging.*" The division of the secretaryship had now allowed him leisure to project, among other literary considerations, the great and imperishable memorial of his fame. Aubrey tells us, that *about two years before the Restoration* Milton began his *Paradise Lost*; and Anthony Wood, from * Aubrey, relates, that " being dispensed with, by having a substitute allowed him, and sometimes instructions sent home to him, from attending his office of secretary, Milton began that laborious work of amassing out of all the classick authors, both in prose and verse, a *Latin Thesaurus*, to the emendation of that done by Stephens; THE COMPOSING OF *PARADISE LOST*; and the

* See before what is said of Aubrey's Collections, p. 13.

framing a *Body of Divinity* out of the Bible." Others ascribe to him, during the happy hours which he had now secured for his studies, the design of continuing a *History of his native country*; with which he certainly proceeded after the publication of *Paradise Lost*. Of both these in their order. Of the *Dictionary* I may observe, from Phillips, that the preparations which Milton had long been making were found so discomposed and deficient, "that they could not be 'fitted for the press;" while I find, however, that they afforded great assistance to the editors of the "Cambridge dictionary in 1693: and of the *Body of Divinity*, long supposed to be irrecoverably lost, and said to be finished after the Restoration, though no particular date is named, an account, furnished by the recent discovery of it in the State-Paper Office, and since published by the gracious command of his Majesty, will close the detail of Milton's writings in the following pages.

Thus employed upon gigantick plans, we find him within the same memorable period not averse to

' So Phillips relates. Aubrey says, that he heard from the poet's widow, that while he was blind he was writing in the heads of a dictionary; and that she gave all his papers, *among which was this dictionary imperfect*, to his nephew Phillips.

' The editors acknowledge their obligation to manuscript collections in "three large folios, digested into an alphabetical order, which the learned Mr. John Milton had made." Pref. p. 2. col. 2.

humbler occupations. He could condescend in 1658 to the amusement of editing from a manuscript * *The Cabinet Council* of Raleigh. In 1659 he was on the alert in behalf of the cause he had so long served, and in vindication of his attachment which had been questioned ; publishing his *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical* ^b *Causes*, and his *Considerations touching the Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church*. These he addressed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And upon the dissolution of the Parliament by the army, he wrote

* Anthony Wood, in his Account of Sir Walter Raleigh, names *The Prince or Maxims of State* by Raleigh under the year 1642, and adds, 'tis the same with his *Aphorisms of State*, published by John Milton, in 1661. And again under 1658 he mentions *The Cabinet Council*, &c. published by J. Milton aforesaid. Now Milton's publication is entitled "The Arts of Empire and Mysteries of State discabinated in Political and Polemical Aphorisms," &c. So that the *two* publications, usually mentioned by the biographers of the poet, are probably one and the same. *The Arts of Empire*, &c. again issued from the press in 1692.

^b After the *Treatise on these Causes* was published, Milton was thus addressed by Mr. John Wall in a letter, dated May 26, 1659. "I was uncertain whether your relation [as Secretary] to the Court (though I think a Commonwealth was more friendly to you than a Court) *had not clouded your former light ; but your last book* [this *Treatise*] *resolved that doubt*.—Sir, my humble request is, that you would proceed, and give us *that other member of the distribution mentioned in your book*, viz. that Hire doth greatly impede Truth and Liberty." Pref. to Baron's Edit. of the *Iconoclastes*. Milton did proceed, as his republican friends wished, and immediately published the *Considerations* &c. named above. The *Treatise* &c. was republished in 1790 with a dedication to Dr. Richard Price. The *Considerations* also were separately reprinted in 1723.

A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth; and a Brief Declaration of a Free Commonwealth, easy to be put in practice, and without delay, addressed to General Monk. In February 1659-60 he gave to the world, what he hoped might not contain "the last words of expiring liberty," his *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, which gave rise both to a serious and a ludicrous reply; and soon afterwards *Brief Notes upon a Sermon, preached in March 1659-60 by Dr. Matthew Griffith, called The Fear of God and the King*. His apprehension of *expiring liberty*, as he calls it, was now again aroused by the sound eloquence and serviceable zeal of the preacher; who boldly affirmed, that "without the restitution of King Charles to his native rights, we can in reason look for no solid settlement of religion or law, liberty or property, peace or plenty, honour or safety. To all these we can never be firmly restored but by the king, and the king not forced to come by his birthright as a con-

* The "*Dignity of Kingship asserted* in Answer to Mr. Milton's *Ready and Easy Way, &c.* By G. S. A lover of Loyalty. Lond. 1660." The author of this *serious* and often *severe* Reply, was probably Mr. George Searle, one of the ejected members of the House of Commons, and who was a writer. The *burlesque* answer was pretended to issue from Harrington's club, in order to point more strongly the ridicule against Milton. But Harrington's club, as Mr. Warton has observed, encouraged all proposals for new models of government; and Milton's intimacy with Skinner, one of its most distinguished members, is well known; so that the remonstrance as *from that quarter* may be discredited.

queror, but fairly called in either by this or the next Parliament." The angry Notes of Milton were immediately answered by L'Estrange in a pamphlet, insultingly denominated *No Blind Guides*. To this and the other efforts of Milton, in order to prevent the restoration of kingly government, several republican pens added their puny offerings. Such, besides the exertions of Harrington, were ^d *Idea Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform*, and *A Model of a Democratical Government*, both anonymous productions, in 1659, and closely agreeing with the preceding *Delineation* of Milton. But "the ship of the Commonwealth," to use the expression of Milton himself, could no longer be kept afloat. The gale of popular opinion was adverse. Of the Usurpation there were few who were not eager to shake off the galling chains. And the name and cause of the king were now in the hearty voice of almost all.

Sequestered from his office, Milton therefore quit-
ted the house which he had occupied while he was Secretary, and in which he had lived eight years with great reputation; visited by all foreigners of distinction, and by several persons of quality in his

^d Both printed in 1659. The latter proposes that the exercise of the chief magistracy and administration of the government shall cease. "to run in the name and stile of the keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament; and shall assume the name and stile of *The Senate and People of England*." p. 9.

own country, particularly by the exemplary Lady Ranelagh, whose son had been his pupil, and to whom four of his familiar letters are addressed; by literary friends too; such (to follow bishop Newton's list) as Marvel, and Lawrence, and Needham, and Skinner; the last of whom had been his scholar, and is called by Wood an ingenious young gentleman; and of whom more will be said with the description of Milton's *Body of Divinity*. Needham by the same authority is termed *an old crony of Milton*; and perhaps their intimacy commenced with the inquiry which Milton was directed to make, in regard to the *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, of which Needham was the writer; and which he ceased to conduct, being persuaded by Lenthall and Bradshawe to change his party, and to publish the *Mercurius Politicus*; "siding with the rout and scum of the people, and making them weekly sport of all that was noble in this new miscellany of intelligence." Even by some of the antiregal party this person was despised, and accused of lying as well as railing: so that we wonder at the acquaintance of such a man, however considerable his talents were, with Milton. But with Lawrence, "the virtuous son of a virtuous father," as Milton calls him in his twentieth Sonnet, several circumstances led to an early and continued intercourse. The family of Lawrence lived in the neigh-

* See the Order of Council, before cited, p. 111.

† A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

‡ Second Narrative of the Late Parliament, so called, &c. 1658, p. 28.

bourhood of Horton, where the father of Milton resided. Lawrence gave to the world a treatise, in 1646, upon a subject of which Milton was evidently fond, "*Of our Communion and Warre with Angels*;" and we may reasonably suppose, that in the friendly visits, to which the Sonnet of Milton alludes, the authority of the "^h Tuscan muse" upon the guardianship of angels often formed a part of their conversation; that Milton perhaps acknowledged the hints he had thence derived to some of his earliest strains; and that the design of Lawrence was probably thus encouraged. Of the Council, to which Milton was Secretary, the father of Lawrence too at length was President; but he is then described, certainly not in unison with the attribute given him by Milton, as "ⁱ signing many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the carrying of honest faithful men to prisons and exile without cause;" and is at the same time called "a gentleman of a courtly breed, and a good trencher-man!"

Aubrey says, that several ^k foreigners had been

^h The Addresses of the Italian Muse *All' Angelo Custode* are frequent. See "*Rime del M. A. M. Negrisoni, Vineg. 1552*," p. 129, and "*Sonetti di Diversi Accademici Sanesi, Sien. 1608*," pp. 136, 200, 239, &c. I might also add the frequent introduction of a *Spirit* or *Angel* as the *annunziatore* to the early Italian dramas. Compare Milton's Verses addressed to Leonora Baroni, his prologue to *Comus*, and the same poem throughout.

ⁱ Second Narrative, &c. ut supr. p. 2.

^k "He was mightily importuned to goe into Fr. and Italie; foreigners came much to see him, and much admired him; and

induced to visit England, in order chiefly to see Cromwell and Milton. In the discharge of his office Milton indeed had acquired the highest credit both abroad and at home; while as the author of the exquisite strains in *Lycidas*, and *Comus*, and *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, he was now "of small regard to see to." Even the hyperbolical ¹ panegyrist of Cromwell, in 1659, describing his bounty to all "*the virtuous professors of poetry*," selects as an instance, "one for all," not Milton, but Waller. Waller indeed had newly bestowed the labour of melodious panegyrick upon the death of the Usurper. And with Waller's character as a poet the following eulogium of this panegyrist in prose has intermixed, what rarely has been observed, a taste for poetry in the gloomy and fanatick patron; which is a curiosity worth citing. "What obliging favours has he (Cromwell) cast upon our English Virgil here, I mean Mr. *Edm. Waller*; and merely for that, (his poetry,) and his other virtues; having, in some other relations, little capacity enough to deserve them!

offered him great preferments to come over to them." Aubrey. The collections for the Life of Milton by Aubrey, which are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, are often cited in Mr. Warton's edition of Milton's Smaller Poems; and are printed entire in the Letters of eminent persons, &c. 1813, and Mr. Godwin's *Lives of Edw. and J. Phillips*, 1815.

¹ H. Dawbeny, who published "*Historie and Policie reviewed in the heroick transactions of Oliver, late Lord Protector, &c. declaring his steps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the great patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees to the height of honour.*" Lond. 1659."

² Dawbeny's Hist. p. 207.

My lord has sufficiently showed his own most excellent judgement in poetry, by his approbation and election of him, to be the object of his great goodness, who is clearly one of the ablest and most flourishing wits that ever handled a pen ; and he does it with that natural dexterity, and promptness, as if he had begun to write so soon as to live : And whoever considers the worth of his writings, cannot but wonder how so many graces and beauties, which others labour for and never attain to, encrease in him as in a soil natural for wit and eloquence. If he goes about to translate any thing, the dead authors themselves are ready to rise out of their graves, and request him to exchange his Englished copies for their originals. In all his own things his conceptions are unimitable, his language so sweet and polite that no ice can be smoother. His sentences are always full of weight, his arguments of force ; and his words glide along like a river, and bear perpetually in them some flashes of lightning at the end of each period. He perfectly knows how to vary his eloquence upon all occasions ; to be facetious in pleasing arguments, grave in severe, polite in laborious ; and, when the subject requires fervour and invective, his mouth can speak tempests. In short, he is the wonder of wits, *the pattern of poets*, the mirror of orators in our age. All this I say of him, not so much out of design to applaud him, *as to adore the judgement of our great Augustus*, (Cromwell,) who always chose him out and crowned him for *the Virgil of this nation*.”—Milton had

not yet attained the higher distinction of *the Homer of his country*; yet he had strung his lyre to the celebration of Cromwell; and his English and Latin poems, which were published in 1645, had received "the highest commendations and applause of the most learned academicks, both domestick and foreign;" and with "Mr. Waller's late choice pieces these ever-green and not to be blasted laurels" had been named. So that Milton perhaps might read the praise of his contemporary not without some wonder, that to such mention of his "chief of men," and of "the virtuous professors of poetry," his own name was not joined.

From his entrance into office to nearly the present period, Milton had collected a variety of State-Papers; probably with a view to use them in some particular or general history of the times. They were unpublished till the year 1743, in which they appeared with the title of "Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the Affairs of Great Britain, from the year 1649 to 1658. Found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. Now first published from the Originals by John Nickolls, Jun. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London." By Milton they had been long preserved, and at length came into

* Moseley's Pref. to Milton's Poems, ed. 1645.

• Ibid.

† So Milton calls Cromwell in the Sonnet he addressed to him.

the possession of his friend, Thomas ^a Ellwood. The volume abounds with whining addresses to Cromwell and other supporters of the Usurpation, not without occasional deviations into the very ^r travesty as it were of sober sadness. Two letters in it, written by Milton's friend, Colonel Overton; and a character drawn by Captain Bishope of Bradshawe, harmonizing with Milton's own eloquent eulogy of the regicide; may claim the distinction of important contents. But the State-Letters which, within this period and before it, Milton had written in the name of the Parliament, and of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, are interesting throughout. These he caused to be transcribed at the request of the Danish resident. But they were not permitted to be published till after his death in 1676; and then, they were given not accurately. For of these a transcript has been lately ^s discovered in the same press, which contained the *Body of Divinity* already mentioned; and

^a Pref. to the Collection, p. iv.

^r As in p. 161, where Colonel R. Overton is thus addressed: "Sir, your friends beseech you to be much in the mount with God, who is the best counseler, and will ther be seen: This is no time to consult with flesh and blood:" and then follows, "*Sir, there is one Miss Dawson presents her service to you. To-morrow is kept a very solom day among som here, fasting and praiers; sum devills are no other way cast out!*" In p. 99, it is proposed to the Parliament, "*that the stone churches should have noe outward adornements, but the walls to be coultered black, to putt men in minde of that blacknesse and darknesse that is within them!*"

^s See Dr. Sumner's Introduction to his Translation of Milton's *De Doctrinâ Christiand*, p. xvii.

the text appears to differ, in many instances, from that of our present editions. From a printed Latin advertisement, 'found in the same parcel, it has been justly presumed, that the collection had been carefully revised by the author or his friends in order to publication, and intended to have been committed to the press in Holland. The letters are stated in this advertisement to have been published by a dishonest bookseller, from a surreptitious copy, in their incorrect shape. In 1690 they were announced to the publick at Leipsic and Frankfort with a preface by the celebrated J. G. "Pritius, or Pritz; and a dedication to F. B. Carpzovius. That they had not been suffered to issue from the press while Milton was living, this learned editor apparently ^{*} laments; and that they exhibit all the ^y graces of composition,

^{*} See Dr. Sumner's Introduction to his Translation of Milton's *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, p. xvii.

^{*} Pritius was professor of divinity at Leipsic, and distinguished himself greatly as a theological critick. He proposed also to reprint the Familiar Letters and Prolusions of Milton. The present publication he entitled "*Literæ nomine Senatûs Anglicani, &c. exaratæ à Joanne Miltoño, quas nunc primum in Germaniâ recudi fecit M. Jo. Georg. Pritius.*" 12mo.

^{*} "*Illud autem lectorem ignorare non patiemur, post mortem demùm auctoris emissum fuisse opusculum. Quamquam enim cum vivente actum esset, ut ipsemet epistolas suas, quas reipublicæ nomine scripserat, prelo subjiceret, nec ille aded abnueret; ab illis tamen, per quos solos licebat, permissum id ei non est; usque dum, post fata auctoris, claustra, quibus indignè continebantur, perrumperent; non addito quidè editionis loco, quem tamen in Angliâ quærendum esse, characterum typus indicium facit.*" Pref.

^y "*Puras tibi exhibemus epistolas, faciles, jucundas, et amœnissimas veneres ubique spirantes,*" &c. Ibid.

he testifies with the ablest criticks of his own and succeeding times. In 1694 they were translated into English, and published; and to that translation was prefixed the Life of Milton by his nephew, Edward Phillips; at the end of which were added his Sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Vane, and Cyriack Skinner. Of these letters in their original language, from the corrected manuscript, a new edition is much to be desired.

SECTION IV.

*From the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the
Death of Milton.*

MILTON at the Restoration withdrew, for a time, to a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close. By this precaution he probably escaped the particular prosecution which was at first directed against him. Mr. Warton was ^a told by Mr. Tyers from good authority, that when Milton was under prosecution with Goodwin, his friends, to gain time, made a mock-funeral for him; and that when matters were settled in his favour, and the affair was known, the King laughed heartily at the trick. This circumstance has been also related by an historian ^b lately brought to light; who says that Milton "pretended to be dead, and had a publick funeral procession," and that "the King applauded his policy in escaping the punishment of death, by a seasonable shew of dying." His *Iconoclastes* and *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* were, however, consigned to the most

^a See his Second Edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 358.

^b Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 14.

publick disgrace. It was the resolution of the Commons, on the 16th of June 1660, that his Majesty should be “^c humbly moved to call in Milton’s two books, and that of John Goodwin, [*The Obstructors of Justice*,] written in justification of the murder of the late King, and order them to be burnt by the common hangman; and that the Attorney-General do proceed against them by indictment or otherwise.”

Dr. Johnson thinks that Milton was not very diligently pursued. It is certain that he very successfully concealed himself. The proclamation for apprehending him, and his bold compeer, particularly notices that “^d the said John Milton and John Goodwin are so fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they may be brought to legal tryal, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences.” Of the proscribed books several copies were committed to the flames on the 27th of August. Within three days after the burning these offensive publications, he found himself relieved, by the *Act of Indemnity*, from the necessity of concealment. Goodwin was incapacitated, as Dr. Johnson observes, with nineteen more, for any publick trust; but of Milton there was no exception. He was afterwards, however, in the custody of the Serjeant at arms; for on Saturday the 15th of De-

^c Journals of the House of Commons.

^d See the Proclamation printed at length in Kennet’s Register and Chronicle, 1728, p. 189.

ember, 1660, it was ordered, by the House of Commons, " * that Mr. Milton, now in custody of the Serjeant at arms, attending this House, *be forthwith released, paying his fees.*" And, on Monday the 17th, " a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for *the imprisonment* of Mr. Milton; it was ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for Privileges to examine this business, and to call Mr. Mead the Serjeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case." Milton is supposed to have had powerful friends both in Council and Parliament; as Secretary Morice, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvell. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon is said to have been Sir William Davenant, who, when he was taken prisoner in 1650, had been saved by Milton's interest, and who now, in grateful return for so signal an obligation, interceded for the life of Milton. This story has been related by Richardson upon the authority of Pope, who received it from Betterton, of whom Davenant was the patron. Aubrey, in his manuscript ¹ life of Davenant, ascribes his safety, however, without mention of Milton, to two aldermen of York.

Milton, having obtained his pardon, reappeared immediately in his literary character; and published

* Journals of the House of Commons.

¹ See the Hist. Account of the English Stage, Steevens's Shakspeare, ed. 1793, vol. ii. p. 431.

in 1661 his *Accidence commenced Grammar*. He had now taken a house in Holborn near Red-Lion Fields; but soon removed to Jewin Street, near Aldersgate. And there he married his third wife, in "the year before the sickness," Aubrey says, which would be in 1664. She was Elizabeth Minshul, of a genteel family in Cheshire. Her father, Sir Edward Minshul, ^s received the honour of knighthood. She was also a relation of Dr. Paget, his particular friend, whom he had requested to recommend a proper consort for him. It may here be observed, that he chose his three wives out of the virgin state. Indeed he tells us that he entirely agreed "^h with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow." The very reverse was the fancy of another poet, of no mean fame, Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire; who, like Milton, was thrice married, but whose three wives had been all widows! Soon after Milton's last marriage, he is ⁱ said to have been offered, and to have declined, the employment again of Latin Secretary.

While he lived in Jewin Street too, Ellwood the quaker was recommended to him as a person, who, for the advantage of his conversation, would read to him such Latin books as he thought proper; an em-

^s Communicated to me by the learned historian of Cheshire, Mr. Ormerod.

^h *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 191, ed. 1698.

ⁱ See the note ⁱ on the Nuncupative Will of Milton.

ployment to which he attended every afternoon, except on Sundays. "At my first sitting to him," this ingenuous ¹ writer informs us in his Life of himself, "observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation; to this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels: This change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me; but 'labor omnia vincit improbus;' and so did I; which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help, he could; for, *having a curious ear*, he understood by my tone when I understood

* "The early life of Ellwood," Mr. Warton has remarked, "exhibits exactly the progress of an enthusiast. Having been a profligate youth, and often whipped at school twice a day, he was suddenly reclaimed by accidentally hearing a Quaker's sermon. He then had the felicity of following the steps of St. Paul, in suffering bonds and imprisonment. But those slight evils did not reach the spiritual man. He found the horrors of a jail to be green and flowery pastures, refreshed with the fountain of grace. He consoled himself as Shakspeare says, with 'a snuff in a dungeon.' The history of his desultory life, written by himself, and from which I collect these anecdotes, is filled with idle rambles and adventures, foolish scraps of poetry, and fanatical opinions. I except those passages which relate to Milton, as also the best and most curious part of the description of Bridewell and Newgate, then the usual receptacles of preaching apprentices, and frequently more full of saints than felons."

what I read, and when I did not ; and accordingly he would stop me, and examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me." The kind care bestowed by Milton upon the improvement of this young man was repaid by every mark of personal regard. The courtesy of the preceptor, and the gratitude of the disciple, are indeed alike conspicuous. After several adventures, which were no slight trials of patience, Ellwood found an asylum in the house of an affluent quaker at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, whose children he was to instruct. This situation afforded him an opportunity of being serviceable to Milton. For, when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, Ellwood took a house for him at ¹ Chalfont St. Giles ; to which the poet

¹ Dr. Birch, in his Life of Milton, has printed a *Sonnet*, said to be written by Milton in 1665, when he retired to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire on account of the plague ; and to have been seen inscribed on the glass of a window in that place. I have seen a copy of it written, apparently in a coeval hand, at the end of Tonson's edition of Milton's *Smaller Poems* in 1713, where it is also said to be Milton's. It is reprinted, from Dr. Birch's Life of the poet, in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, 1763, vol. viii. p. 67. But, in this Sonnet there is a scriptural mistake ; which, as Mr. Warton has observed, Milton was not likely to commit. For the Sonnet improperly represents David as punished by pestilence for his adultery with Bathsheba. Mr. Warton, however, adds, that Dr. Birch had been informed by Vertue the engraver, that he had seen a satirical medal, struck upon Charles the second, abroad, without any legend, having a correspondent device.

- " Fair mirror of foul times ! whose fragile sheen
 " Shall, as it blazeth, break ; while Providence
 " Aye watching o'er his saints with eye unseen,

retired with his family. He had not long before removed from Jewin Street to a house in Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill-fields; but he is also said, by Richardson, on the authority of a person who was acquainted with Milton, and who had often met him with his host conducting him, to have lodged awhile before this last removal with Millington, the famous auctioneer of books; a man, whose occupation and whose talents would render his company very acceptable to Milton; for he has been described by a contemporary pen, as "a man of remarkable elocution, wit, sense, and modesty."

On his arrival at Chalfont, Milton found that Ellwood, in consequence of a persecution of the quakers, was confined in the gaol of Aylesbury. But, being soon released, this affectionate friend made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country. "After some common discourses," says Ellwood, "had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which, being brought, he delivered to me,

"Spreads the red rod of angry pestilence,

"To sweep the wicked and their counsels hence;

"Yea, all to break the pride of lustfull kings,

"Who heaven's lore reject for brutish sense;

"As erst he scourg'd Jessides' sin of yore,

"For the fair Hittite, when, on seraph's wings,

"He sent him war, or plague, or famine sore."

"Dunton's Life and Errors, &c. See also the *Auctio Daviana* in the *Musæ Anglicanæ* :

"Tu *Millingtoni* non dedignabere partes,

"Nam lepidum caput es, dicto et mordente facetus."

bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgement thereupon. When I came home, and set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled *Paradise Lost*." From this account it appears that *Paradise Lost* was complete in 1665. And indeed Aubrey represents the poem as "*finished about three yeares after the King's Restoration.*"

The city being cleansed, and the danger of infection having ceased, Milton returned to Bunhill-fields, and designed the publication of his great poem; the first hint of which he is "said to have taken, more than twenty years before, from an Italian tragedy. Some biographers have supposed that he began to mould the *Paradise Lost* into an epick form, soon after he was disengaged from the controversy with Salmasius. Aubrey, I have before said, relates, that he began the work about two years before the Restoration. However, considering the difficulties, as bishop Newton well remarks, "under which the author lay, his uneasiness on account of the publick affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his not being now in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful that he should have the spirit to

* See the Inquiry into the Origin of *Paradise Lost* in the present volume.

undertake such a work, and much more that he should ever bring it to perfection." Yet his tuneful voice was

—————" unchang'd
 " To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
 " On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues ;
 " In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
 " And solitude."——

To Milton indeed the days might now seem evil. But to so pathetick a complaint cold must be the heart of him who can listen without compassion. It reminds us of the musical but melancholy strains, addressed by his favourite Tasso in a Sonnet to Stiglian, whom he salutes as advancing on the road to Helicon :

" Ivi prende mia cetra ad un cipresso :
 " 'Salutala in mio nome, e dalle avviso,
 " *Ch' io son da gli anni e da fortuna oppresso.*"

The last of Milton's familiar Letters in Latin, addressed to Peter Heimbach, an accomplished German, who is styled counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg, (and who is supposed, by an expression in a former epistle from Milton to him, to have resided with the poet, when he visited England, in the character of a disciple,) relates his consideration on his present circumstances, and his reflection on the days that were gone, in a most interesting manner. With the translation of this letter by his affectionate and spirited biographer, Mr. Hayley, the reader will be

gratified. “If among so many ° funerals of my countrymen, in a year so full of pestilence and sorrow, you were induced, as you say, by rumour to believe that I also was snatched away, it is not surprising; and if such a rumour prevailed among those of your nation, as it seems to have done, because they were solicitous for my health, it is not unpleasing, for I must esteem it as a proof of their benevolence towards me. But by the graciousness of God, who had prepared for me a safe retreat in the country, I am still alive and well; and I trust not utterly an unprofitable servant, whatever duty in life there yet remains for me to fulfil. That you remember me, after so long an interval in our correspondence, gratifies me exceedingly, though, by the politeness of your expression, you seem to afford me room to suspect, that you have rather forgotten me, since, as you say, you admire in me so many different virtues wedded together. From so many weddings I should assuredly dread a family too numerous, were it not certain that, in narrow circumstances and under severity of fortune, virtues are most excellently reared, and are most flourishing. Yet one of these said virtues has not very handsomely rewarded me for entertaining her; for that which you call my political

° Even at Chalfont, whither he had retired from the danger of infection, infection had appeared. For in the Register of the parish, under the year 1665, two persons are recorded, as I was obligingly informed by letter from the resident clergyman, to have died of *the sickness*; [so the Plague was denominated;] one of whom is called a stranger, and died at the Manor House.

virtue, and which I should rather wish you to call my devotion to my country, (enchancing me with her captivating name,) almost, if I may say so, expatriated me. Other virtues, however, join their voices to assure me, that wherever we prosper in rectitude there is our country. In ending my letter, let me obtain from you this favour, that if you find any parts of it incorrectly written, and without stops, you will impute it to the boy who writes for me, who is utterly ignorant of Latin, and to whom I am forced (wretchedly enough) to repeat every single syllable that I dictate. I still rejoice that your merit as an accomplished man, whom I knew as a youth of the highest expectation, has advanced you so far in the honourable favour of your prince. For your prosperity in every other point you have both my wishes and my hopes. Farewell. *London*, August 15, 1666."

Paradise Lost, having been made ready for publication, is said to have been in danger of being suppressed by the licenser, who imagined that, in the noble ^p simile of the sun in an eclipse, he had discovered treason. The licenser's hesitation is a striking example of Lord Lyttleton's acute remark, that "^q the politicks of Milton at that time brought his poetry into disgrace; for it is a rule with the English; *they see no good in a man whose politicks they dislike.*"^r Licensed, however, the poem was; and Milton sold

^p B. i. 594, &c.

^q Dialogues of the Dead. Dial. xiv.

^r Mr. Malone observes, that the poem was entered in the Sta-

his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds. But the agreement with the bookseller entitled him to a conditional payment of five pounds more when thirteen hundred copies should be sold of the first edition; of the like sum after the same number of the second edition; and of another five pounds after the same sale of the third. The number of each edition was not to exceed fifteen hundred copies. It first appeared in 1667, in ten books. In the history of *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Johnson has observed that a relation of minute circumstances will rather gratify than fatigue. Countenanced by such authority, I proceed to state that the poem, in a small quarto form, and plainly but neatly bound, was advertised at the price of ' three shillings. The titles were varied, in order to circulate the edition, in 1667, 1668, and 1669. Of these there were no less than *five*. In two years the sale gave the poet a right to his second payment, for which the ' receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in small octavo; and,

tioners' Book by Samuel Symons, Aug. 20, 1669. See the Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 114. The title-pages of 1667 and 1668, however, bear in front "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*" I have seen several copies with the title-page of 1669, in which this notification is omitted.

* In Clavel's Catalogue of all the books printed in England, since the fire of London, in 1666, to the end of 1672. Fol. Lond. 1673.

† A fac-simile of this receipt is given in the Gent. Mag. July, 1822, p. 13.

by a judicious division of the seventh and tenth, contained twelve books. He lived not to receive the payment stipulated for this impression. The third edition was published in 1678; and his widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, agreed with Simmons, the printer, to receive eight pounds for her right, according to her "receipt dated December 21, 1680; and gave him a general release, dated April 29, 1681. Simmons covenanted to transfer the right, for twenty-five pounds, to Brabazon Aylmer, a bookseller; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half of it, August 17, 1683, and the other half, March 24, 1690, at a price considerably advanced.

Of the first edition it has been observed by Dr. Johnson, that "the call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at present;—the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakspeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies. The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius." This remark will always be read with peculiar gratification, as it exonerates our forefathers from the charge of being inattentive to the glorious blaze of a luminary, before which so many stars "dim their

* Of this receipt also a fac-simile accompanies the preceding. And in p. 14, the general release of Mrs. Milton to Simmons is copied.

ineffectual light." The demand, as Dr. Johnson notices, did not immediately encrease; because "many more readers than were supplied at first, the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years; for it forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion; and the opportunities, now given, of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception. Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked its reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion and the impartiality of a future generation."

Milton indeed may be considered as an illustrious example of *patient merit*. But his admirers were not long silent. Witness the spirited verses of Barrow and Marvell, prefixed to the second edition of the poem: Witness also the * celebrated hexastich of

* "Three Poets in three distant ages born," &c. If any other proof were wanting, Dr. Jos. Warton has said, of the high respect and veneration which Dryden entertained of the superiour genius

Dryden, which accompanies the fourth edition; as well as the liberal acknowledgement of his obligations to *Paradise Lost*, made almost immediately after the death of Milton, in the preface to his *State of Innocence*: "I cannot, without injury to the deceased author of *Paradise Lost*, but acknowledge, that this poem has received its entire foundation, part of the design, and many of the ornaments from him. What I have borrowed will be so easily discerned from my mean productions, that I shall not need to point the reader to the places; and truly I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together, *the original being undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced.*" So that, at least by one excellent judge of poetry, the *Paradise Lost* was immediately and duly appreciated; and the popularity of it, which has unjustly been supposed to be very confined till the appearance of Addison's criticism, had begun, many years before, to spread, and to elicit the commendations of various writers. It matters not, that among these dispensers of honest praise some were obscure persons; it proves, that the poem was generally read, and that the readers were deeply sensible of its excellence. The gradual progress of its fame, may, in part, be distinguished by the following notices; not to forget the circumstance

of Milton, these six nervous lines will for ever remain as a strong and indisputable testimony.

also of thirteen hundred copies of it having been sold within two years after its appearance.

An examination of the blank verse, and a proper tribute to the sweetness of language, in *Paradise Lost*, are found in Dr. Woodford's poetical *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*, published in 1679.

In the same year also, rather a *curious commendation* presents itself in the preface to "Poems in two parts; first, an interlocutory discourse concerning the Creation, Fall, and Recovery of Man; secondly, a dialogue between Faith and a Doubting Soul, by Samuel Slater;" who seems to have thought Milton, with some animadversion of his correcter pen, not unworthy his imitation! "I was much taken," he says, "with *learned Mr. Milton's cast and fancy in his book*, (*Paradise Lost* :) Him I have followed much in his method, and have been otherwise beholding to him, how much I leave thee (gentle reader) to judge: but I have used a *more plain and familiar stile, because I conceive it most proper*!" The compositions of this self-complacent writer, the children of preposterous conceit, would have been a valuable addition to the common-place book of Bayes, who also "*loved to write familiarly*."

In his *Essay on Translated Verse*, published in 1680, lord Roscommon, as Addison has remarked, selects the sixth book of the poem as a specimen of true sublimity; and from the imagery and lan-

guage of Milton the criticism derives additional strength.

In the same year was published a poetical translation of Jacob Catsius's *Self-Conflict*, the anonymous translator of which observes in the preface, "that it were a pity gold should be rejected, because presented unto thee in a homely vessel; or sovereign counsel, because not sung to thee by a Cowley or a Milton; the very footsteps of either of which thou art not likely here to find." Yet, notwithstanding this modest depreciation of his labour, the translator has employed with good effect many Miltonick expressions.

To the fame of Milton, in this year also, a poetical tribute was paid by a writer, whose signature to it is F. C. I suppose, that Francis Cradock, a member of the Rota-Club to which Milton belonged, is the author thus initially subscribed.

" O Thou, the wonder of the present age,
" An age immers'd in luxury and vice;
" A race of triflers; who can relish nought,
" But the gay issue of an idle brain:
" How could'st thou hope to please this tinsel race!
" Though blind, yet, with the penetrating eye
" Of intellectual light, thou dost survey
" The labyrinth perplex'd of Heaven's decrees;

' These verses are prefixed to Milton's poetical works in the *Edition of the English Poets*, 1779; and had before appeared in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calender*, 1763.

“ And with a quill, pluck’d from an Angel’s wing,
“ Dipt in the fount that laves the eternal throne,
“ Trace the dark paths of Providence Divine,
“ And justify the ways of God to man.

“ F. C. 1680.”

Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, in his *Essay on Poetry*, first published in 1682, introduces Milton with “ Tasso and Spenser,” Dr. Johnson has related, “ set before him ;” but in succeeding editions “ Milton is advanced to the highest place, and the passage thus adjusted : The epick poet, says the noble author,

“ Must above Tasso’s lofty flights prevail,
“ Succeed where Spenser, and e’en Milton, fail.”

In 1683 Milton is the admired theme of an unknown author, who, in his work entitled *The Situation of Paradise found out*, cites with taste and judgement several passages from the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* ; and, by the application of a remark in Athanasius, strengthens a belief that Milton, in his description of Paradise, consulted the Fathers. “ As to the easterly situation of this garden,” says the author, p. 23, “ S. Athanasius has a fancy there-upon extraordinary poetical, and which I take to be more expressive of its riches, and its pleasures, than those descriptions the most fanciful poets can give of their Elysium ; viz. That from hence about the Oriental parts of India there are every where such fragrant scents, and that the spices receive their odours,

as if blown from that happy place : Which is good poetry enough, though too light for him : And Milton has it,

“ Now gentle gales,
“ Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
“ Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
“ Those balmy spoils.”

In 1688 the opinion and encouragement of lord Somers occasioned the handsome folio edition of *Paradise Lost*, which then was published ; to which is prefixed a list of more than five hundred subscribers, among whom are the most distinguished characters of the time. Atterbury exerted himself with zealous activity in the promotion of this honourable publication. And Dryden added to his subscription, under the portrait of Milton which accompanies the edition, his epigram before-noticed.

In the same year appeared *Poems to the Memory of Edmond Waller, Esq.* By several hands ; in which Milton obtains, from an anonymous writer, this commendation by comparison :

“ Now, in soft notes, like dying swans, he'd sing,
“ Now tower aloft, like eagles on the wing ;
“ Speak of adventurous deeds in such a strain,
“ As all but Milton would attempt in vain ;
“ And only there, where his rapt Muse does tell
“ How in the ætherial war the Apostate Angels fell.”

In 1689 appeared "A propitiatory sacrifice to the ghost of J. M. by way of Pastoral, in a dialogue between Thyrsis and Corydon; addressed by the author to his brother Mr. A. Wyndham." The poem seems to have been written soon after the death of Milton. It is of considerable length, and of very unequal execution. There are passages in it, however, with which the reader of taste and feeling may be pleased; as with the following, where the author, having described the poetical abilities of Milton "from his cradle to his tomb," thus represents the blind bard in

—— " his age and fruit together ripe,
 " Of which blind Homer only was the type :
 " Tiresias like, he mounted up on high,
 " And scorn'd the filth of dull mortality ;
 " Convers'd with gods, and grac'd their royal line,
 " All ecstasie, all rapture, all divine !"

Again, deploring his loss, the poet ably notices Milton's rejection of rhyme; and calls the object of his grief,

" Daphnis, the great reformer of our isle !
 " Daphnis, the patron of the Roman stile !

* The book, in which this poem occurs, is little known; and was obligingly pointed out to me by the ingenious and acute continuator of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, the late Mr. F. G. Waldron. It is entitled, "Poems and Translations written upon several occasions, and to several persons. By a late Scholar of Eton. London, 1689." The poem will be found in p. 110, &c.

- " Who first to sense converted doggrel rhimes,
- " The Muses' bells took off, and stopt their chimes ;
- " On surer wings, with an immortal flight,
- " Taught us how to believe, and how to write !"

Towards the conclusion, is this spirited prediction of Milton's increasing glory :

- " Even tombs of stone in time will wear away ;
- " Brass pyramids are subject to decay ;
- " But lo ! the poet's fame shall brighter shine
- " In each succeeding age,
- " Laughing at the baffled rage
- " Of envious enemies and destructive time."

In 1690 Atterbury wrote the preface to the *Second Part of Waller's Poems*, and therein commends what Milton had achieved in "freeing us from the troublesome bondage of rhyming."

Wollaston, the author of the *Religion of Nature* delineated, printed in 1691 a poem, which afterwards he endeavoured to suppress, entitled *The Design of Part of the Book of Ecclesiastes* ; and in the preface to it he concurs with Atterbury as to Milton's rejection of rhyme.

In 1692 another ornamented edition of *Paradise Lost*, in folio, was published.

And in 1695 a third, with the copious and very learned commentary of Patrick Hume.

The poem had been also, in the preceding year, highly commended by Charles Gildon in his "Miscellaneous Letters and Essays;" and had been translated into Latin in 1685, and into Dutch in 1682. So much for the popularity, which has been questioned, of *Paradise Lost* in the seventeenth century; yes, and before " ^a the Revolution had put an end to *the secrecy of love*," which till then, it has been said, attended it,

Of the anecdote, related by Richardson, respecting the celebrity which the poem has been supposed to owe to Denham, the accurate investigation of Mr. Malone has detected the improbability. " ^b The elder Richardson," says this acute and learned writer, " speaking of the tardy reputation of *Paradise Lost*, tells us, (and the tale has been repeated in various Lives of Milton,) that he was informed by Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, (many years previous to 1734,) that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost*, wet from the press, in his hand; and, being asked what it was, he replied, '*Part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age.*' However, the book remained unknown till it was produced about *two years afterwards* by Lord Buckhurst on the following occasion. That nobleman, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shep-

^a Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton.

^b Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 112, &c.

hard, (who frequently told the story to Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician, and Mr. Richardson's informer,) looking over some books in Little Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and, being surprised with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller requested his Lordship to speak in its favour, if he liked it: for *the impression lay on his hands as waste paper*. Lord Buckhurst, (whom Richardson inaccurately calls the Earl of Dorset, for he did not succeed to that title till some years afterwards,) having read the poem, sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer: '*This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*'—Much the same character (adds Mr. Richardson) he gave of it to a north-country gentleman, to whom I mentioned the book, he being a great reader, but not in a right train, coming to town seldom, and keeping little company. Dryden amazed him with speaking loftily of it. 'Why, Mr. Dryden,' says he, '(Sir W. L. told me the thing himself,) 'tis not in rhyme.' 'No; (replied Dryden,) *nor would I have done my Virgil in rhyme, if I was to begin it again.*'—How Sir John Denham should get into his hands one of the sheets of *Paradise Lost*, while it was working off at the press, it is not very easy to conceive. The proof-sheets of every book, as well as the finished sheets when worked off, previous to publication, are subject to the inspection of no person but the author, or the persons to whom he may confide them; and there is no evidence or probability that any intimacy sub-

sisted between Sir John Denham and Milton. Here then is the first difficulty. The next is, that during a great part of the year 1667, when Milton's poem probably was passing through the press, the knight was disordered in his understanding : But a stronger objection remains behind ; for, on examination, it will be found that Denham, who is said to have thus blazoned *Paradise Lost* in the House of Commons, was never in parliament. Let us, however, wave this objection, and suppose this eulogy to have been pronounced in a full House of Commons in 1667, in which year Milton's great poem, according to some of the title-pages, first appeared, whilst others have the dates of 1668 and 1669. So little effect had Denham's commendation, that we find in *two years afterwards* almost the whole impression lying on the bookseller's hands as waste paper : during which time Dryden, a poet himself, living among poets, and personally acquainted with Milton, had never seen it ! And to crown all, by the original contract between Milton and Simmons, the printer, dated April 27, 1667, it was stipulated, that, whenever *thirteen hundred* books were sold, he should receive five pounds, in addition to the sum originally paid on the sale of the copy : and this second sum of five pounds *was paid* to him, as appears from the receipt, on the 26th of April, 1669 ; so that, in two years after the original publication, we find that, instead of almost the whole impression then lying on the bookseller's hands, thirteen hundred out of fifteen hundred copies of this poem had been dis-

persed. Unless, therefore, almost every species of incongruity and contradiction can authenticate a narrative, this anecdote must be rejected as wholly unworthy of credit."

Before I quit the subject of the first appearance of *Paradise Lost*, I must notice a communication, made to the publick ° not long since by a gentleman possessing the original edition, of the following lines; apparently written by a female on two leaves prefixed to the title-page of his copy, and subscribed at the bottom with this singular remark: "*Dictated by J. M.*" The communicator observes, that the daughter of Milton officiated as his amanuensis; and that, from the remark already mentioned, there is some reason to attribute the lines to the author of *Paradise Lost*. Different female hands, it may be added, appear in the manuscript of Milton, preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. Yet the bondage of rhyme may perhaps incline some to question the authenticity of these lines; while several striking sentiments and expressions, and the frequent flow of the verses into each other, will occasion some also to think them genuine, and that the great poet might have chosen, as an amusement, to employ once more the "jingling sound of like endings." Dr. Symmons indeed concedes, that the testimony which has been given, united with what is supplied by the verses themselves, will not suffer us

° In the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1786, p. 698.

to doubt of their being the production of Milton.
The subject also had been a favourite theme of Milton.

On Day-Break.

“ Welcome, bright chorister, to our hemisphere ;
“ Thy glad approaches tell us Day is near.
“ See ! how his early dawn creeps o’er yon hill,
“ And with his grey-ey’d light begins to fill
“ The silent air, driving far from our sight
“ The starry regiment of frighted Night ;
“ Whose pale-fac’d regent, Cynthia, paler grows,
“ To see herself pursu’d by conquering foes ;
“ Yet daring stays behind, to guard the rear
“ Of her black armies whither without fear
“ They may retreat, till her alternate course
“ Bring her about again with rallied force.
“ Hark ! how the lion’s terrour loud proclaims
“ The gladsome tidings of day’s gentle beams,
“ And, long-kept silence breaking, rudely wakes
“ The feather’d train, which soon their concert makes,
“ And with unmeasur’d notes, unnumber’d lays,
“ Do joyfully salute the lightsome rays.
“ But hearken yonder, where the louder voice
“ Of some keen hunter’s horn hath once or twice
“ Recheated out its blast, which seems to drill
“ The opposing air, and with its echo fill.
“ Thither let’s hie ; and see the toilsome hound,
“ Willing, pursues his labour, till he has found
“ Some hope of what he follows, then with fresht
“ And pleasing clamour tells it to the rest.
“ O Thou, who sometimes by most sacred voice
“ Father of Light wert styl’d, let my free choice
“ (Though all my works be evil, seldom right,)
“ Shun loving darkness rather than the light.
“ Let Thy essential brightness, with quick glance,
“ Dart through the foggy mist of ignorance



" Into the darken'd intellect, and thence
 " Dispel whatever clouds o'erspread the sense ;
 " Till, with ^d illuminated eyes, the mind
 " All the dark corners in itself can find,
 " And fill them all with radiant light, which may
 " Convert my gloomy night to sun-shine day.
 " *Though dark*, O God ! if guarded by thy might
 " *I see with intellectual eyes* : the night
 " To me a noon-tide blaze, illumin'd by
 " The glorious splendour of thy Majesty !"

After the publication of *Paradise Lost*, Milton resumed his design of giving a history of his native country. But he proceeded only as far as the Norman conquest. Of this history the first copies were mutilated ; for the licenser expunged several passages, which, reprobating the pride and superstition of the monks in the Saxon times, were interpreted as a covert satire upon the bishops of the day. But Milton gave a copy of the proscribed remarks to the Earl of Anglesea, which were published in 1681 with a preface, declaring that they originally belonged to the third book of his history ; and they are now found in their proper place. They present to the reader, not what the licenser had in his zeal imagined, but *a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines* ; and they had been expunged, according to Richardson, " as being a sort of digression, and in order to avoid giving offence to a party quite subdued, and whose faults

^d The printed word is *illumin'd*. *Illuminated* has been suggested.

the government was then willing to have forgotten." The six books, which Milton executed, appeared in 1670. Of the passages then suppressed, and since 1738 always accompanying the history, Dr. Dibdin has lately said, that " ° his friend Mr. Amyot seems to suspect that Milton was not the author ; and he owns that he also inclines to this opinion." The cause of the suspicion is not told. And still I venture to think, that whoever will carefully read Milton's *Tennure of Kings and of Magistrates*, or his *Treatise* and his *Considerations* ^f already noticed, will find more than one expressive parallel, which may persuade him, that of the remarks in question the poet was certainly the author.

In 1671, he ^g published the *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. Of the former poem Phillips has ^h recorded Milton's opinion ; not his *preference* of it to *Paradise Lost*, but his ⁱ mortification to find it censured as infinitely inferiour to his

^e Library Companion, &c. 1824, p. 201.

^f See the preceding sections.

^g At the price, bound, of two shillings and sixpence. Clavel's Catalogue, 1673.

^h Life of Milton, 1694, p. xxxix.

ⁱ In a manuscript note, at the end of Toland's Life of Milton, communicated to me by Mr. F. G. Waldron, it is related that *Paradise Regained* was, in the poet's own opinion, the better poem, though it could never obtain to be named with *Paradise Lost* ; and that Milton gave this reason for the general dislike, namely, *That the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for the regaining of it.*

former epick production. His *pretended preference* has been ^k recommended by an ingenious writer, with other popular tales believed without vouchers, and without probability, to supreme contempt.

Uncommon energy of thought, and felicity of composition, as Mr. Hayley observes, are apparent in both the performances of Milton, however different in design, dimension, and effect. And Mr. Dunster, the learned editor of *Paradise Regained* in 1795, happily advanced the poem from the obscurity in which it had been too long shrouded; pleading its merits with the masterly discrimination of an eloquent advocate. Mr. Warton and Mr. Hayley assert, that the poet *planned* or *began* it at Chalfont: Mr. Dunster argues, that he probably *finished* it at this temporary residence. "We may suppose," he says, "that Milton remained at Chalfont till towards the Spring of 1666; as it is said he did not return to London until 'the sickness was over, and the city was well cleansed, and become safely habitable.'—Ellwood proceeds to inform us, that, 'when he waited on him afterwards in London, which he seldom failed to do when his occasions led him thither,' Milton showed him his second poem; and 'in a pleasant tone,' (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) said to him, 'This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I

^k Letters of Literature, 1785, p. 416.

had not thought of.' It seems therefore nearly certain, that the *whole of the poem* was composed at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervour, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in 'with eager thought.' This was the characteristick of Milton in composition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodate, (September 2, 1637,) where he describes his own temper to be marked with an eagerness to finish whatever he had begun; 'meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla fermè illius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam, quo feror, et grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam.' *Epist. Familiar. vi.* There is also such a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of this second poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one season; and, as I would suppose, the *exclusive* occupation of his divine genius during his residence in Buckinghamshire. To have composed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given so perfectly *con amore*, that I am confident, upon those occasions, he proceeded *at a very different rate*. That the *Paradise Regained* was not published till five years after the time when I suppose it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton considered it as not being then finished: and yet many other reasons might be assigned for its not being printed sooner. *Paradise Lost*, we know, was finished at least two years before it was printed;

and it was not till a year after Milton's return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simmons for the copy of it was signed, and the first purchase money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the second five pounds two years after; the stipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then sold. The author probably did not think of going again to the press with his *second* poem, till he saw the requisite sale of the *first* accomplished. *Paradise Regained* might also wait for the completion of its companion, the *Samson*; a work, which furnishes some internal proofs of its having been composed at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licensed, and were printed the year following. In 1670 was printed his *History of England*: so that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the Spring of 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in July 1670. That he might revise and correct his brief epick previous to this, is very possible: but, that it was composed in its first form at Chalfont, I think, cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little mansion there with no small degree of veneration, as being exclusively the *incunabula* of Milton's *Paradise Regained*. I should approach it as a Tibur or a Tusculum; and should feel myself on classick ground."—For ¹ similar reasons the poet's last resi-

¹ See the Note ⁿ to the Nuncupative Will.

dence, the house in the Artillery-walk, may appear to his enthusiastick admirers, as Mr. Hayley remarks, consecrated by his genius.

From *Paradise Regained* we proceed to the poem which follows it, the *Samson Agonistes*; in which there are so many severe strictures, clearly pointing at the Restoration, and at the subsequent sufferings of Milton's party, that it has been often wondered it should have been sanctioned with an *imprimatur*. A learned antiquary thus endeavours to account for this indulgence in the licenser: "Hurt by the censures, to which he had subjected himself by his over-refined cavils at *Paradise Lost*, he might be unwilling to renew and encrease the obloquy, by demurring at the appearance of another poem of unquestionable excellence." To his own sufferings also the poet often alludes in this sublime and affecting tragedy. He had before couched his complaint, as well as his unsubdued contempt of regal government, under the concluding sentence of his history: "As the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity oftentimes exempts not *good men from their share in evil times with the bad*."

In 1672, he published his *Artis Logicæ plenior institutio, ad Rami methodum concinnata*. This work and his *Accidence commenced Grammar* are

^m Denne's Hist. of Lambeth Parish, &c. 1795, p. 344.

proofs of that zeal for careful education, which Milton shewed throughout his life. And to this zeal Dr. Johnson has paid a tribute of applause, not more honourable than just. "To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehension, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not disdain the meanest services to literature. The epic poet, the controvertist, the politician, having already descended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the last years of his life, composed a book of Logick, for the initiation of students in philosophy." Of his book of Logick there was a second edition in the following year.

In 1673, his *Treatise Of true Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, was published. In this discourse there are some passages which shew that Milton had altered his opinion, since his younger days, respecting certain points of doctrine. But that regard for the Holy Writings, which always predominated in his mind, is particularly observable in it. "Let not," he says, "the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business, from the studious reading of the Bible." This advice he offers as the best preservative against Popery. His principle of toleration, as Dr. Johnson observes, is agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to

derive them from the Sacred Books. In the same year he reprinted his juvenile poems with some additions, and with the Tractate on Education. Notwithstanding the publick avowal of his opposition to Popery, the infamous Titus Oates had the impudence to assert, not long afterwards, that "Milton was a known ^a frequenter of a Popish Club."

In 1674, the last year of his laborious life, he published his *Familiar Letters in Latin*, to which he added some *Academical Exercises*. His employment of the press closed for ever in a translation of the ^o *Latin Declaration of the Poles in favour of John the third*, their heroick sovereign. Dr. Symmons professes himself to be doubtful of the fact of Milton having translated this Declaration; "as the Latin document could arrive in England only a very short time before his death, and the translation bears no resemblance to his character of composition." This doubt is admitted by Mr. Hawkins in his recent additions to bishop Newton's life of the poet. Now the Declaration had been made in May, and the translator of it died in the following November. The translation would exact from Mil-

^a Dedication or address prefixed to the true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popish Party, by T. Oates, D.D. fol. Lond. 1679.

^o The Biographical Dictionary, of 1798, calls this piece a translation from the *Dutch*. See vol. x. p. 465. But the title-page of the performance announces it thus: "Now faithfully translated from the *Latin Copy*."

ton not many hours. But the original, so brief and at the same time so formal, could hardly call forth any distinctive graces of his pen. Yet we may trace his hand, I think, in the use of *interreign* not a common word, which is found in this Declaration and in his History of England; and in *the rudiments of warfare*, which, while it is a classical expression, his *Paradise Regained*, as well as the present translation, exhibits. But he ^p *delighted not*, he has told us, *in translations*. Yet in the cause of this popular sovereign, who was the patron too of men of letters, he stooped, I can believe, with pleasure. Sobieski also was a king to Milton's mind: he might be deposed by his subjects.

Milton had now been long a sufferer by the gout; and in July, considering his end to be approaching, he informed his brother Christopher, who was then a benchman in the Inner Temple, that he wished to dictate to him the disposition of his property. And the discovery of this Nuncupative Will has illustrated the domestic manners of the poet. He died on ^q Sunday the 8th of November follow-

^p See the remark in the next section, p. 223.

^q Mr. Hayley says, on Sunday the 15th of November. But it appears, by the Register of St. Giles's Cripplegate, that he was buried on the 12th. "L. John Melton, gentleman. Consumption. Chancell. 12. Nov. 1674." Melton has been altered, in fresher ink, to Milton. L. denotes the liberty of the parish, Mr. Steevens supposed the entry to have been made by the undertaker, who knew nothing more of Milton than that he was

ing. His death was so easy, that the time of his expiration was unperceived by the attendants in his room.

The remains of Milton were attended to the grave by "all his learned and great friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar." He was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate. In August, 1790, the spot, where his body had been deposited, was opened; and a corpse, hastily supposed to be his, was exposed to publick view. A Narrative of the disinterment of the coffin, and of the treatment of the corpse, was published by Philip Neve, Esq. The Narrative was immediately and ably answered in the *St. James's Chronicle*, in Nine Reasons why it is improbable that the coffin, lately dug up in the Parish Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, should contain the reliques of Milton. Mr. Neve added a Postscript to his Narrative. But all his labour appears to have been employed in an imaginary cause. The late Mr. Steevens, who particularly lamented the indignity which the nominal ashes of the poet sustained, has intimated in his *ma-*

dead. Aubrey says, "He was buried at the upper end in St. Gyles Cripple-gate chancell," and that, "when the two steppes to the Communion Table were rayed, (in 1679) his Stone was removed."

^r Toland's *Life of Milton*, prefixed to the edition of *Milton's Prose-Works*, printed (not at Amsterdam as asserted in the title-page,) but at London, in 1698, fol. p. 46.

^s Formerly in the possession of the late James Bindley, Esq.; by whom I was favoured with the perusal of them.

nuscript remarks on this Narrative and Postscript, that the disinterred corpse was supposed to be that of a *female*, and that the minutest examination of the fragments could not disprove, if it did not confirm, the supposition. Mr. Lofft, noticing the burial of the poet in St. Giles's church, has eloquently censured "the sordid mischief committed in it, and the market made of the eagerness with which curiosity or admiration prompted persons to possess themselves of his supposed remains, which, however, there is reason to believe, far from being Milton's, were the bones of a person *not of the same age or sex*. It were to be wished that neither superstition, affectation, idle curiosity, or avarice, were so frequently invading the silence of the grave. Far from honouring the illustrious dead, it is rather outraging the common condition of humanity, and last melancholy state in which our present existence terminates. Dust and ashes have no intelligence to give, whether beauty, genius, or virtue, informed the animated clay. A tooth of Homer or Milton will not be distinguished from one of a common mortal; nor a bone of Alexander acquaint us with more of his character than one of Bucephalus. Though the dead be unconcerned, the living are neither benefited nor improved: decency is violated, and a kind of instinctive sympathy infringed, which, though it ought not to overpower reason, ought not without it, and to no pur-

* Preface to his edition of the first book of *Paradise Lost*, 1792, p. xxx.

pose, to be superseded. But whether the remains of that body which once was Milton's, or those of any other person were thus exposed and set to sale, death and dissolution have had their empire over these. The spirit of his immortal works survives invulnerable, and must survive. These are his best image, these the reliques which a rational admiration may cherish and revere!"

It has been observed that the original stone, laid on the grave of Milton, was removed not many years after his interment. Nor were his remains honoured by any other memorial in Cripplegate church, till the year 1793; when, by the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, an animated marble bust, the sculpture of Bacon, under which is a plain tablet, recording the dates of the poet's birth and death, and of his father's decease, was erected in the middle aisle. *To the Author of Paradise Lost* a similar tribute of respect had been paid, in 1737, by Mr. Benson; who procured his bust to be admitted, where once his name had been deemed a profanation, into Westminster Abbey. And the reception of the monument into this venerable edifice became immediately the theme of the muses^u.

^u Dr. George, provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Vincent Bourne, Usher of Westminster School, have written upon this occasion some Latin hexameters, which have been much admired for their spirit and their elegance.

SECTION V.

Of political and other Publications ascribed to Milton ; with reference to his genuine Prose-Works, and their general character.

WHILE the pen of Milton has been * needlessly questioned in regard to part of his history of England, and to the translation of the Polish document ; anonymous publications, on the other hand, have been ascribed to him. Most of them appeared while he was living. And perhaps to his political rather than his literary character we owe these assumptions. Of such it may gratify curiosity to give an account.

On very slender grounds Peck attributed to him the translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, which appeared in 1641, with the following title : " Tyrannical Government anatomized, or, A Discourse concerning evil Counselors : being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, and presented to the King's most excellent Majesty by the author." Aubrey and Wood, from different motives, would not have

* See before, pp. 210. 217.

forborne to notice so remarkable a production, if it had proceeded from the pen of Milton. This translation has been^b supposed, with great probability, to have been intended as a hint to Charles the first, of the danger he then incurred from the counsels of some about him : and the history of the Baptist, who lost his head by the instigation of Herodias, seems figuratively to glance at the death of lord Strafford, and at the influence of the queen. Peck, however, might have noticed a political pamphlet,^c published in the following year, "by J. M.:" of which the royal counsellors are the principal theme. From numerous examples I will cite one : "It is the king's crown that is aimed at, and not onely so, but even the very dethroning of him, and his whole posterity; and in truth so it is, but by *his Majesties evill Councillors*; who, to magnifie themselves, intend the ruin of the Commonwealth: And is not that in effect a dethroning of his Majesty? All that I shall say is but this: No government more blest or happie, *if not abused by the advice of vile and malignant Counsellours*," p. 3. From the following passage some readers might suspect J. M., the author of this pamphlet, to be Milton: "Freedome, as it is a great mercy, so it ought of temporal blessings, next to our lives, to receive the greatest estimate; the

^b Biograph. Dramat. vol. ii. p. 387.

^c Entitled, "A Reply to the Answer (printed by his Majesties command at Oxford) to a printed Booke intituled 'Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses.' By J. M. London, printed for M. Walbancke, 1642." 4°.

slavery of the body is the usher to the thralldome of conscience; and if we foolishly surrender up this, the other will not be long after!" p. 12. But, in p. 20, there is sufficient proof, that Milton could not have written it. "What have we to do with Aristocracy, or Democracy? God be blessed, we nor know, nor desire, *any other government than that of Monarchy!*" Peck, therefore, if he had seen this pamphlet, would find that, notwithstanding it harmonized in a considerable degree with the subject of the poetical translation, it could not be rendered subservient to his hypothesis. Milton, in the account he gives of himself, appears indeed to have been no friend to translations: "^d I never could delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions; whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator." He is said indeed to have declined translating Homer.

In 1642 was published "An Argument, or Debate in Law, of the great Question concerning the Militia; as it is now settled by Ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament. By J. M. London, 1642." 4°. On the title-page of this pamphlet, (now in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford,) Milton's *elder Brother in Comus*, the second Earl of Bridgewater, has written the name of the poet as the author. At the end of Phillips's *Life of Milton*

^d Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 407, ed. 1698.

with manuscript remarks by Oldys, communicated to me by Mr. Reed, this tract was also noticed among Oldys's additions to the publications of Milton. The same remark is made in a * volume of Tracts, belonging to the Archbishopal Library in Lambeth Palace, with additions apparently from a contemporary writer; additions, indeed, not exhibiting genuine claims to credit, yet curious and amusing; and in the following order.

1. John Milton's Speech for unlicensd Printing.
2. *His Salve for y^e Blind, a def: of y^e Parlam^t.*
3. *His Argument concerning y^e Militia.*
5. *His Jus. Populi.*
6. Εἰρωνοκλάστης, his Answer to y^e Kings Book.
7. His Tenure of Kings.
4. The Parlam^t Petition conc: y^e Militia, & y^e Kings Answ^r.

The numbers 5, 6, and 7, have been altered by the writer of the preceding contents, as he had omitted to put number 4 in its proper place. And 5 appears to have first stood without *his* before *Jus*; but is added evidently by the same hand. After the *Jus Populi* were also the following words, *by some supposed to be his*; but these words are crossed through with the pen, and *his* prefixed, as I have before stated. The initials J. M. Esquire are printed in the title-page of the *second* of these tracts, and

* Numbered I. 5. 23.

the remarker has written under them *J. Milton* ; as he has also placed in the title-page of the *fifth*, which exhibits no name or initials, the letters *J. M.* But however careful and earnest this remarker has been, I am convinced he is mistaken, in attributing these two pamphlets to Milton. They exhibit indeed (particularly the latter) many energetick sentiments and expressions. The former, printed in 1643, opens with this pithy avowal to the Reader : “ It is not rhetorick but reason can satisfie the judgment. The former may cozen the conscience, and dazle simple men : the latter onely can satisfie the wise, and lead to truth. A rough diamond is precious, when the best wrought glass is despicable : the painted oratory which best pleaseth the vulgar, ill suits with the well-becoming gravity of a statist.” But, very soon afterwards, the author tells us that the unhappy state of things “ hath inforc’d a pen *ever before still* to expose itselfe to publike censure.” The author therefore was not Milton. In the latter of these tracts, published in 1644, there is a passage so minutely concurring with Milton’s observations on the same subject, as might almost lead the reader to admit the justice of the remarker’s designation. “ ‘ The nature of Man being depraved by

‘ *Jus Populi*, pp. 42, 43. Compare Milton’s reflection on the political union of the fallen Angels, *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 496.

“ O shame to Men ! Devil with Devil damn’d

“ Firm concord holds ; Men only disagree

“ Of creatures rational, though under hope

the fall of Adam, miseries of all sorts broke in upon us in throngs, together with sin; insomuch that no creature is now so uncivill and untame, or so unfit either to live with or without societie, as Man. Wolves and beares can better live without wolves and beares, than Man can without Man; yet neither are wolves nor beares so fell, so hostile, and so destructive to their own kinde, as Man is to his. In some respects, Man is more estranged from politicall union than Devils are: for by reason of naturall disparitie, the reprobate Angels continue without dissolution of order, and shun that confusion amongst themselves which they endeavour to promote amongst Men. But amongst Men, nothing but cursed enmitie is to be seen." However, in a preceding page, the favourite topick of Milton's literary employment in 1644 is mentioned in such a manner as at once destroys the possibility of his having written the *treatise*. The author is speaking of *divorce* and *repudiation*: "And that," he says, "seemes discountenanced by our Saviour, except in case of Adultery." This was not the doctrine of Milton.

By Anthony Wood we are next informed, that

"Of heavenly grace: and, God proclaiming peace,
 "Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife,
 "Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 "Wasting the earth, each other to destroy;
 "As if (which might induce us to accord)
 "Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
 "That, day and night, for his destruction wait."

† Jus Populi, p. 31.

Milton was thought to be the author of *The Grand Case of Conscience concerning the Engagement*, which was published in 1649-50; but Dr. Birch represents the style of the pamphlet as not in the least supporting such an opinion.

After his decease, however, there ¹ appeared a work, into which, there is good reason to suppose, Milton had thrown many additions and corrections; a work, Mr. Warton has well observed, ¹ containing criticisms far above the taste of that period; criticisms not common after the national taste had been just corrupted by the false and capricious refinements of the Court of Charles the Second; among which is a judgement on Shakspeare, not then, Mr. Warton believes, the general opinion, perfectly coinciding with the sentiments and words of Milton in *L'Allegro*;

“ Or sweetest Shakspeare’s, Fancy’s child,
“ Warble his native wood-notes wild;”

for the judgement is, that “ never any expressed a more lofty and tragick height than this child of Fancy; never any represented Nature more purely

¹ Bishop Kennet notices in his Register, p. 321, this work, as having been published in 1660. See also the Catalogue of the late Dr. Farmer’s books, p. 178, where a copy of this date is also mentioned. Yet the Imprimatur for Phillips’s book is dated Sept. 14, 1674. And Milton’s death is mentioned in it. There is, therefore, some mistake as to the noticed work of 1660.

¹ See his Hist. of Eng. Poetry, and his Edit. of Milton’s Smaller Poems.

to the life; and, where the polishments of art are most wanting, as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance." Other traces of Milton's hand may certainly be discovered in this interesting volume, which was entitled, "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*, or, A Compleat Collection of the Poets, especially the most eminent, of all ages," &c. and was published by his nephew Edward Phillips, in 1675.

Anthony Wood relates, that the *Enchiridion Linguae Latinæ*, and *Speculum Linguae Latinæ*, both published in 1684 by his nephew also, were all or mostly taken from the Latin Dictionary of Milton before noticed. The *Satyr against Hypocrites*, an extremely coarse but curious picture of the times, published in 1655, and of which there have been several impressions, was also attributed to Milton, and even ^k advertised as his production. But his nephew Edward undeceived the world; not suffering the leaves of this supposititious laurel to be torn from the brow of his brother John. "^l John Phillips, the maternal nephew and disciple of an author of most deserved fame, late deceas't, being the exactest of heroic poets, (if the truth were well exa-

^k Even so late as in 1710 the poem was scandalously published with this deceptive title, "Mr. John Milton's Satyre against Hypocrites, written whilst he was Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell."

^l *Theatrum Poet.* 1675. *Modern Poets*, pp. 114, 115.

mined, and it is the opinion of many both learned and judicious persons,) either of the ancients or moderns, either of our own or whatever nation else; from whose education as he hath receiv'd a judicious command of style both in prose and verse, so from his own natural ingenuity he hath his vein of burlesque and facetious poetry, *which produc't the Satyr against Hypocrites,*" &c. Edward and John Phillips are indeed the authors of various publications; although Dr. Johnson has hastily asserted the brief history of poetry to have been the ^m *only product of* Milton's academy. Johnson is also censured by some ⁿ writers for having affirmed the history to be written in Latin, which is, with a Latin title, written in English. But Wood informs us, that Phillips is the author of ^o another work similar

^m I have been favoured by John Nichols, Esq. with an Epitaph "On the excellently learned John Milton," as it appeared in The Daily Gazetteer of Oct. 30, 1738, said to be written by an *eminent author* and *one of Milton's pupils*. This pupil, however, appears to have caught none of the Miltonick taste or spirit; his verses being miserably tame and prosaick.

ⁿ The annotator on the Lives of the Poets, edit. 1794, and Mr. Hayley. See also the Gent. Mag. 1789, p. 416.

^o Entitled, 1. "Tractatulus de carmine dramatico poetarum, præsertim in choris tragicis, et veteris Comœdiæ.

2. "Compendiosa enumeratio poetarum (saltem quorum fama maximè enituit) qui à tempore Dantis Aligerii usque ad hanc ætatem claruerunt; nempe Italarum, Germanorum, Anglorum, &c."

These two things, Wood informs us, "were added to the seventeenth edition of Jo^b. Buchlerus his book, entit. *Sacrarum profanarumque phrasium poeticarum Thesaurus*, &c. 1669." Ath. Ox. ut. supr. See a list of the two Phillips's publications,

to the *Theatrum Poetarum* already mentioned, and written in the language which Johnson has related, who indeed gives no specifick reference to either publication.

Let us now revert to the undisputed writings of Milton in prose.

There is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a volume of these, in the ^p underwritten order, which he had presented to the learned Patrick Young, Charles the first's librarian; to whom he has prefixed a brief address concluding with an expression similar to that in *Paradise Lost*, of finding fit audience, though few;—" ^q *paucis hujusmodi*

ibid. and p. 1119. To which, perhaps, may be added a copy of verses *Upon the incomparable poems of Mr. William Drummond*, afterwards prefixed to the works of that elegant author printed at Edinburgh in 1711, and signed *Edw. Phillips*. Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, seems much interested in behalf of Drummond, and expresses his sorrow that in his time this charming poet should be so little noticed.

- ^p 1. Of Reformation touching Church Discipline, &c.
2. Of Prelaticall Episcopacy.
- 3, The Reason of Church Government, &c.
4. Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence, &c.
5. An Apology against a Pamphlet, &c.
6. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
7. The judgement of Martin Bucer.
8. Colasterion.
9. Tetrachordon.
10. Areopagitica.

^q The address is written on the margin of the first title-page in the volume, part of which has been cut off in the binding.

lectoribus contentus." Whether Milton's avowal of content with a few readers, such as Young, may be thought to favour Mr. Warton's opinion that the prose-works of Milton were never popular, I leave to the reader's decision. But I do not believe that these writings experienced so much contemporary neglect, as some have been led to suppose. I find the diction, by which they are distinguished, thus concisely but strongly commended in 1650: "' In truth it is very hard to write good English: and few have attained its height, in this last frie of books, but Mr. Milton." Mr. Warton indeed has treated the prose of Milton, both English and Latin, with almost unrelenting severity; conceding only to the nervous *' Areopagitica*, and the *Tractate on Education*,

Mr. Cooper Walker who communicated to me the notice of this curiosity, informed me also that, at the top of the page, is written the name of a former possessor, Matt. Pilkington, Stamford, 1693.

* *An Introduction to the Teutonick Philosophie, &c.* By C. Hotham, Fellow of Peter House, Englished by D. F. 12mo. 1650. Preface.

* Certainly these two have obtained, among the numerous prose-works of Milton, more than ordinary distinction and applause. The *Tractate on Education* was republished in 1751 with a dedication to lord Harcourt, at that time governor to the Prince of Wales, (his late Majesty,) and Prince Edward; "it being thought necessary," the editor says, "at this juncture to reprint it, as the prosperity of ourselves and posterity depends, in a great measure, on the education of two princes, whose example in learning and virtue, it is hoped, will be a model for the youth of this nation." It has since appeared, in a separate form, more than once; and also in French. The same may be said of the *Areopagitica*, in English; and to that edition which was pub-

any tribute of praise. Yet in many of Milton's English treatises, besides the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica*; and in his several Latin disquisitions; abundant examples of highest literary merit, deeply interesting in the subject as well as the composition, may surely be found. Perhaps indeed his English prose is, in general, too learned. The style of it at least is sometimes certainly recondite. Of his *History of England* Warburton has said, that "it is written with great simplicity, *contrary to his custom in his prose-works*; and is the better for it. But he sometimes rises to a surprising grandeur in the sentiment and expression, as at the conclusion of the second book, *Henceforth we are to steer, &c.* I never saw any thing equal to this, but the conclusion of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*."—That in his civil and religious speculations Milton is occasionally virulent, who will deny? His pen, when dipped in the gall of puritanism, hurries him into judgement without candour and condemnation without mercy. Hence the close of his *Reformation in England* is "the very torrent, tempest, and (as I may say) whirlwind of his passion, without a temperance to give it smoothness;" while the preceding sentence is all loftiness of thought and elevation of language. But sometimes also, in his prose,

lished in 1738, Thomson the poet is said to have written the preface. It may be observed too, that of the *Areopagitica*, and the *Tractate on Education*, Milton himself, in his *Second Defence*, speaks with pleasure and a confidence of their value.

Shaksp. Hamlet.

that abusive spirit and those grim expressions, which the turbulence of the times excited, are followed by a gentleness, which, like the beautiful calm that succeeds his own elemental commotion, presents him to us

—————“ “ more fresh and green,
“ After a night of storm so ruinous.”

Milton is ^{*} supposed to have been an admirer of the works of Jeremy Taylor; to have even *studied* them; and to have borrowed from them ideas and expressions. With proofs of this description we are not yet supplied. But the energy of his prose has been allowed to equal, though not to surpass, that of the prelate. Perhaps the prose of Taylor is not very often of similar character to that of Milton. Nor is that of bishop Hall, another eloquent contemporary. But from this great triumvirate we gather abundantly the diversified arrangement and application of bright and majestick sentiments, of the most powerful and commanding words. Milton perhaps has never soared, in compositions of this kind, to a greater height, than when with romantick, and classical, and scriptural allusions, he hints at the future production of some noble poem; as in his *Reason of Church Government* [†] already cited; where he also loftily tells of “ an inward prompting,

^{*} Par. Regained, B. iv. 435.

^{*} See the Life of bishop Taylor by archdeacon Bonney, and by bishop Heber.

[†] In p. 52, et seq.

which in his youth grew daily upon him, *that by labour and intense study he might perhaps leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die ;*" the very anticipation, which he had * before communicated to Deodati, *that he was meditating an immortality of fame ;* an anticipation, which the judgement of posterity has confirmed.

* Literæ Fam. dat. Sept. 23, 1637.

SECTION VI.

Of the personal and general character of Milton; of his circumstances; and of his family.

MILTON, in his youth, is said to have been extremely
* handsome. He was called the *Lady* of his Col-

* The first published portrait of Milton was that by Marshall, prefixed to the edition of the juvenile poems in 1645. With the palpable dissimilitude of this portrait Milton was justly displeased, as his verses, *In Effigiei Sculptorem*, evidently prove. In the year 1670, there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his *History of Britain*, with this legend; "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni effigies, Ætat. 62. 1670." It is also prefixed to the edition of his *Prose-Works* in 1698. It has been observed, that this engraving is not in Faithorne's best manner. The print has been several times copied. By an ingenious young artist a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (supposed to be the best likeness extant of the poet, and for which he sat at the age of sixty-two,) by the kind permission of William Baker, Esq. in whose possession it now is; from which an engraving was made for my first edition of Milton's poetical works. From the same picture the neat engraving in the present edition is also made. Faithorne's print is copied by W. Dolle, before Milton's *Logick*, 1672. Dolle's print is likewise prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. Faithorne was also copied afterwards by Robert White, and next by Vertue. Mr. Warton has given many other particulars of paintings and engravings of Milton.

lege ; an appellation which he himself has recorded, and which Mr. Hayley says he could not relish.

“ There are four or five original pictures of our author. The first, a half length with a laced ruff, is by Cornelius Jansen, in 1618, when he was only a boy of ten years old. It had belonged to Milton's widow, his third wife, who lived in Cheshire. This was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Hollis, having been purchased at Mr. Charles Stanhope's sale for thirty-one guineas, in June, 1760. Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied, ‘ his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it.’ It was engraved by J. B. Cipriani, in 1760. Mr. Stanhope bought it of the executors of Milton's widow, for twenty guineas. The late Mr. Hollis, when his lodgings in Covent-garden were on fire, walked calmly out of the house with this picture by Jansen in his hand, neglecting to secure any other portable article of value. I presume it is now [1791] in the possession of Mr. Brand Hollis. Another, which had also belonged to Milton's widow, is in the possession of the Onslow family. This, which is not at all like Faithorne's crayon-drawing, and by some is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton, has been more than once engraved by Vertue : who in his first plate of it, dated 1731, and in others, makes the age twenty-one. This has been also engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and by Cipriani. The ruff is much in the neat style of painting ruffs, about and before 1628. The picture is handsomer than the engravings. This portrait is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript *Life of Milton*, 1681, as then belonging to the widow. And he says, ‘ *MEM. Write his name in red letters on his pictures which his widowe has, to preserve them.*’ Vertue, in a Letter to Mr. Christian the seal engraver, in the British Museum, about 1720, proposes to ask Prior the poet, whether there had not been a picture of Milton in the late lord Dorset's Collection. The duchess of Portland has [had] a miniature of his head, when young ; the face has a stern thoughtfulness, and, to use his own expression, is *severe in youthful beauty*. Before Peck's *New Memoirs of Milton*, printed 1740, is a pretended head of Milton in exquisite mezzotinto, done by the second J. Faber : which is characteristically unlike any other representation of our author I remember to have seen. It is from a

From his *Defensio Secunda*, and his *Apology for Smeectymnuus*, several circumstances, respecting his

painting given to Peck by sir John Meres of Kirkby-Belers in Leicestershire. But Peck himself knew that he was imposing upon the publick. For having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and Vertue peremptorily answering in the negative, Peck replied, 'I'll have a scraping from it, however; and let posterity settle the difference.' Besides, in this picture the left hand is on a book, lettered *Paradise Lost*. But Peck supposes the age about twenty-five, when Milton had never thought of that poem or subject. Peck mentions a head done by Milton himself on board: but it does not appear to be authenticated.

"The Richardsons, and next the Tonsons, [before Mr. Baker,] had the admirable crayon-drawing above mentioned. About the year 1725, Vertue carried this drawing, with other reputed engravings and paintings of Milton, to Milton's favourite daughter Deborah, a very sensible woman, who died the wife of Abraham Clark a weaver in Spitalfields, in 1727, aged 76. He contrived to have them brought into the room as if by accident, while he was conversing with her. At seeing the drawing, taking no notice of the rest, she suddenly cried out in great surprise, '*O Lord, that is the picture of my father! How came you by it?*' And, stroking down the hair of her forehead, added, '*Just so my father wore his hair.*' She was very like Milton. Compare Richardson, *Explan. Notes*, p. xxxvi. This head, by Faithorne, was etched by Richardson the father about 1734, with the addition of a laurel-crown to help the propriety of the motto. It is before the *Explanatory Notes on the Paradise Lost*, by the Richardsons, Lond. 1734. 8vo. The busts prefixed to Milton's *Prose-Works* by Birch 1738, and by Baron 1753, are engraved by Vertue from a bad drawing made by J. Richardson, after an original cast in plaster about fifty. Of this cast Mr. Hollis gave a drawing by Cipriani to Speaker Onslow in 1759. It was executed, perhaps, on the publication of the *Defensio*, by one Pierce an artist of some note, the same who did the marble bust of sir Christopher Wren in the Bodleian library, or by Abraham Simon. Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue. It has been remodelled in wax by Gosset. Richardson the father also etched this bust for *The Poems and*

person and habits of life, may be gathered. And that he might not be charged with boasting of his own

Critical Essays of S. Say, 1745, 4to. But, I believe, this is the same etching that I have mentioned above, to have been made by old Richardson, 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1745, for Say's *Essays*.

"There is, however, another etching of Milton, by Richardson, the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger than fifty, accompanied with six bombast verses. 'Authentick Homer,' &c. The verses are subscribed 'J. R. jun.' The drawings, as well as engravings of Milton by Cipriani, are many. There is a drawing of our author by Deacon: it is taken from a proof-impression on wax of a seal by Thomas Simon, Cromwell's chief mint-master, first in the hands of Mr. Yeo, afterwards of Mr. Hollis. This, a profile, has been lately engraved by Ryland. Mr. Hollis had a small steel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a seal or ring, by the same T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the same way. The medal of Milton struck by Tanner, for auditor Benson, is after the old plaster-bust, and Faithorne's crayon-piece, chiefly the latter. So is the marble bust in the Abbey, by Rysbrack, 1737. Scheemaker's marble bust, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his sale by Mr. Duncombe, was professedly and exactly copied from the plaster-bust. Faithorne's is the most common representation of Milton's head. Either that, or the Onslow picture, are the heads in Bentley's, and Tickell's, and Newton's editions. All by Vertue. Milton's daughter Deborah above mentioned, the daughter of his first wife, and his amanuensis, told Vertue, that "her father was of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair." *Letter to Mr. Christian*, ut supr. MS. Br. Mus.

"Since these imperfect and hasty notices were thrown together, sir Joshua Reynolds has purchased a picture of Milton for one hundred guineas. It was brought to sir Joshua, 1784, by one Mr. Hunt, a printseller and picture-dealer, who bought it of a broker; but the broker does not know the person of whom he had it. The portrait is dressed in black, with a band; and the painter's mark and date are 'S. C. 1653.' This is written on the back. 'This picture belonged to Deborah Milton, who

figure, he facetiously declares that thus he spoke, lest any person, relying on the adversary who had

was her father's amanuensis : at her death was sold to sir W. Davenant's family. It was painted by Mr. Samuel Cooper, who was painter to Oliver Cromwell, at the time Milton was Latin Secretary to the Protector. The painter and poet were near of the same age ; Milton was born in 1608, and died in 1674, and Cooper was born in 1609, and died in 1672, and were companions and friends till death parted them. Several encouragers and lovers of the fine arts at that time wanted this picture ; particularly Lord Dorset, John Somers, esquire, sir Robert Howard, Dryden, Atterbury, Dr. Aldrich, and sir John Denham.' Lord Dorset was probably the lucky man ; for this seems to be the very picture for which, as I have before observed, Vertue wished Prior to search in Lord Dorset's collection. Sir Joshua Reynolds says, ' The picture is admirably painted, and with such a character of nature, that I am perfectly sure it was a striking likeness. I have now a different idea of the countenance of Milton, which cannot be got from any of the other pictures that I have seen. It is perfectly preserved, which shows that it has been shut up in some drawer ; if it had been exposed to the light, the colours would long before this have vanished.' It must be owned, that this miniature of Milton, lately purchased by sir Joshua Reynolds, strongly resembles Vandyke's picture of Selden in the Bodleian library at Oxford : and it is highly probable that Cooper should have done a miniature of Selden as a companion to the heads of other heroes of the commonwealth. For Cooper painted Oliver Cromwell, in the possession of the Frankland family ; and another, in profile, at Devonshire house : Richard Cromwell at Strawberry-hill : Secretary Thurloe, belonging to Lord James Cavendish : and Ireton, Cromwell's general, now or late in the collection of Charles Polhill, esq. a descendant of Cromwell. The inference, however, might be applied to prove, that this head is Cooper's miniature of Milton. It has been copied by a female artist, in a style of uncommon elegance and accuracy."—

The genuineness of this miniature, as the portrait of Milton, has been both asserted, and denied, with considerable warmth. See the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, pp. 399. 603. 806.

misrepresented him, might deem him a kind of rhinoceros, or a monster with a dog's head! He had a very fine skin and fresh complexion. His hair was of a light brown; and, parted on the foretop, hung down in curls upon his shoulders. His features were regular; and when turned of forty, he has himself told us, he was generally allowed to have had the appearance of being ten years younger. He has also represented himself as a man of moderate stature, neither too lean nor too corpulent; and so far endued with

The disputants are Lord Hailes and Sir Joshua himself. Most connoisseurs are inclined to believe the portrait to be that of Selden. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who died in 1792, makes the following bequest, however, in his Will, to the Rev. William Mason: "*The miniature of Milton by Cooper.*" See Malone's Life of Sir. J. Reynolds, prefixed to the Works of Sir. J. R. vol. i. p. cxviii. 2d edit.

Two miniatures of the poet, and of his mother, were sold, at the sale of the Portland Museum in 1786, for 34*l*. See Gent. Mag. 1786, p. 527. In 1792 Mr. Elderton submitted to the publick the outlines of a supposed miniature of the poet in his possession. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 17. In 1797 a masterly engraving, from an original picture in the possession of Capel Lofft, esq. believed also to be that of Milton, was made by G. Quinton. At West Wycombe Manor-house, in Buckinghamshire, there is a fine portrait of Milton, supposed to be an original. See Langley's Hist. and Antiq. of the Hundred of Desborough, Co. of Bucks, 1797, p. 417. I have been indebted to the kindness of the late John Charnock jun. esq. of Greenwich, for an excellent original painting, conjectured by some to have been a portrait of Milton by Riley. Others have supposed it may be a head of his brother Christopher. It is, however, remarkable, that Mr. Green-slade, a collector of paintings, who resided in Bond-street, London, had a copy of this very painting, which was exhibited as a portrait of the poet.

strength and spirit, that, as he always wore a sword, he wanted not, while light revisited his eyes, the skill or the courage to use it. His eyes were of a grayish colour; which, when deprived of sight, did not betray their loss: At first view, and at a small distance, it was difficult to know that he was blind. The testimony of Aubrey respecting the person of Milton is curiously expressed: "His harmonicall and ingeniose soul did lodge in a beautifull and well proportioned body." Milton's voice ^b was musically sweet, as his ear was musically correct. Wood describes his deportment to have been affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. Of his figure in his declining days Richardson has left the following sketches. "An ancient clergyman of Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, found John Milton in a small chamber hung with rusty green; sitting in an elbow chair, and dressed neatly in black, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk stones.—He used also to sit in a gray coarse cloth coat, at the door of his house near Bunhill-fields, in warm sunny weather; to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality."

His domestick habits were those of a sober and temperate student. Of wine, or of any strong liquours, he drank little. In his diet he was rarely

^b Aubrey says that "he had a delicate tunable voice," and that "he pronounced the letter R very hard."

^c Life of Milton, 1734, p. iv.

influenced by delicacy of choice ; illustrating his own admirable rule, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 530.

“ The rule of *Not too much* ; by temperance taught
 ‘ In what thou eat’st and drink’st ; seeking from thence
 “ Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight.”

He once delighted in walking and using exercise ; and appears to have amused himself in botanical pursuits : but, after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In summer he then rested in bed from nine to four, in winter to five. If, at these hours, he was not disposed to rise, he had a person by his bed-side to read to him. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and commonly studied till twelve ; then used some exercise for an hour ; then dined ; ^d afterwards played on the organ or bass-viol, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who, he said, had a good voice but no ear. It is related that, when educating his nephews, “ ^e he had made them *songsters*, and sing from the time they were with him.” No poet, it may be observed, has more frequently or more pow-

^d See his own observations, in his treatise *Of Education*.
 “ The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of musick heard or learned, &c. *The like also would not be unexpedient after meat*, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction.”

^e Aubrey’s Life of Milton.

erfully commended the charms of musick than Milton. He wished perhaps to rival, and he has successfully rivalled, the sweetest descriptions of a favourite bard, whom the melting voice appears to have often enchanted; the tender Petrarch. After his regular indulgence in musical relaxation, he studied till six; then entertained his visitors till eight; then enjoyed a light supper; and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, retired to bed.

It has been remarked by Dr. Newton that all, who had written any accounts of the life of Milton, agreed that he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an equal and cheerful temper. I. Vossius and N. Heinsius have borne their testimony also to this engaging part of his character. And Richardson has recorded the saying of the poet's youngest daughter, that her father "was delightful company, the life of the conversation, and *that* on account of a flow of subject, and an unaffected cheerfulness and civility." Richardson too relates, that Milton had also "a gravity in his temper, not melancholy, or not till the latter part of his life, not sour, not morose or ill-natured; but a certain severity of mind; a mind, not condescending to little things." Dr. Newton adds his opinion "that the poet had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries." Milton indeed acknowledges his own "' honest *haughtiness* and *self-esteem*; with

¹ Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698.

which, however, he professes to have united a becoming *modesty*. But from this *self-esteem* and honest *haughtiness* he certainly did descend to ^slavish commendation on her, who, Mr. Warton observes, was "contemptible both as a queen and a woman," Christina of Sweden. Aubrey says, that he was *satirical*. A remark, ^balready cited, pronounces him *harsh* and *cholerick*. And an adversary joins to these unpleasing epithets, his ⁱ*waspy* spirit. To the bitterness, which perhaps exhibited him in this repulsive view, he had, however, no slight provocation. Yet he could forgive the provocation, and with forgiveness unite a very ^kextensive generosity. There seems also in his ^lletter to his friend Oldenburg, just before the restoration of monarchy, a kind of compunctious feeling for the severe and unmerciful attacks which he had made upon those, who had opposed his theology or his politicks: "I am not willing," he says, "to compile a history of our troubles, as you wish; *for they appear to require oblivion rather than commemoration*; and our follies and crimes have long since inflicted a deeper wound upon our religion than could have been made by our enemies." The scorn which he had sometimes exercised, and

^s In his *Defensio Sec.* and his Latin verses addressed to her.

^b See before, p. 90.

ⁱ As before, p. 93.

^k In the reception into his house of his pardoned wife's father and mother, and other relations.

^l *Epistolæ Familiares*, Ep. xxix. Henrico Oldenburgo. Dat. Westmon. Dec. 20, 1659.

the pride which was his principal fault, could thus yield, as at some other times they also yielded, to the influence of charitable and pious reflection.

By controversy, and by the indulgence of early prejudices, Milton was undoubtedly soured. Hence he so often exhibits indignant as well as lofty animation. But if the conceptions of his mind may be taken from his poetry, he cannot be thought to have been by nature unamiable. Of Milton too, however he might be mistaken in the means, the constant aim and end was liberty. Yet with the love of liberty who will assert his attachment to Cromwell to have been consistent? But he is supposed to have been deceived by the matchless hypocrisy of that usurper; and, in the uprightness of his mind, not to have suspected the false dissembler as adverse to his own spirit of freedom. Still it may be wondered that he, who so well knew the nature of *true liberty*, which

——— “always with right reason dwells
“Twinn’d, and from her hath no dividual being;”

it may be wondered that he, I say, should not have perceived the designs of *the tyrant whom he served*. Influenced by his uprightness, however, he offered to Cromwell, with undaunted zeal, a solemn and energetick^m lesson of conduct. Yet with this man of power he appears to have possessed neither inti-

^m Def. Sec. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 109, ed. 1698.

macy nor interest; and with others, the bold compeers of Cromwell, he ^a asserts an acquaintance too slight to address them for any favour; while we must not forget, however, that he had, upon a ^o former occasion, applied to Bradshawe in behalf of Marvell.

The theological opinions of Milton fall under our notice, more properly, in the remarks upon the treatise of *Christian Doctrine*, which form the greater part of a subsequent section, describing compositions left by him in manuscript.

His literature was immense. Even his adversaries admitted, that he was the "^p most able and acute scholar living." With the Hebrew, and its two dialects, he was well acquainted; and of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages, he was a master. In Latin, Dr. Johnson observes, his skill was such as places him in the first rank of writers and criticks. In the Italian he was also particularly skilled. His Sonnets in that language have received the highest commendations from Italian cri-

^a In his letter to Peter Heimbach, who had solicited his recommendation to those in power for the office of secretary to our ambassador in Holland: Milton answers, that he is sorry he cannot serve him "*propter paucissimas familiaritates meas cum gratiosis,*" &c. Epist. Fam. 27, Dat. Dec. 18, 1657.

^o See his letter, from the State-Paper Office, p. 163.

^p The Dignity of Kingship, in Answer to Milton, &c. by G. S. 1660, p. 5.

ticks, both of his own and of ^a modern times. If he had written generally in Italian, it has been supposed, by the late lord Orford, that he would have been the most perfect poet in modern languages; for his own strength of thought would have condensed and hardened that speech to a proper degree. The Academy Della Crusca consulted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of “[†] the two famous retowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*.” It has been rightly remarked, that he read almost all authors, and improved by all: He himself relates, that his “round of study and reading was ceaseless.” There is a delightful minuteness too in Milton, when his studies are the theme. He tells us, that “[†] his life had not been unexpensive in learning and voyaging about.” He tells us of “[†] the grave orators and historians, whose matter he loved; and of the smooth elegiack poets, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, (which in imitation he found most easy and most agreeable to nature’s part in him,) and for their matter, he was so allured to read, that no recreation came to him better welcome.” He tells us, with a fine reflection also upon the fruits of study, that “[‡] although he was not

^a See also Algarotti’s ingenious criticism on his works. *Opere del Conte Algarotti*, Ven. 1794, tom. x. p. 39, &c.

[†] *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698.

[‡] *Apol. for Smectymnuus*.

[†] *Ibid*

[‡] *Ibid*.

untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, nor unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written *in any learned tongue* ; yet true eloquence he found to be none, but *the serious and hearty love of truth.*"

His favourite book was the Book of God. To Milton, when a child, Revelation opened not her richest stores in vain. To devotional subjects his infant strains were dedicated; and never did "his harp forget" to acknowledge the aids which he derived from the Muse of sacred inspiration. The remark of Gibbon that * the sublime genius of Milton was cramped by the system of our religion, and never appeared to so great an advantage as when he shook it a little off, falls before the just and admirable observation of Mr. Hayley; that, "if some passionate admirers of antiquity seem to lament the fall of paganism, as fatal to poetry, to painting, and to sculpture, a more liberal and enlightened spirit of criticism may rather believe, what is very possible, I apprehend, to demonstrate, that Christianity can hardly be more favourable to the purity of morals, than it might be rendered to the perfection of these delightful arts. *Milton himself may be regarded as an obvious and complete proof, that the position is true as far as poetry is concerned.*" The sanctity of manners too which his pages breathe, and the Christian lessons which they inculcate,

* Essay on the Study of Literature, 1764, p. 24.

silence and put to shame a pretence, by which modern Republicanism hoped to profit, of his being her auxiliary. To *him* "sight more detestable," than the object of her hopes could not possibly be presented. The designs of the crafty sensualist, and of the besotted ungrateful atheist, it was *his* constant endeavour, not to promote, but to overthrow. "It must gratify every Christian to reflect," Mr. Hayley observes, "that the man of our country most eminent for energy of mind, for intenseness of application, and for frankness and intrepidity *in asserting whatever he believed to be the cause of truth*, was so confirmedly devoted to Christianity, that he seems to have made the Bible, not only the rule of his conduct, but the prime director of his genius." Yes, he says of himself, I am "among the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born for study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or *any other end but the service of God and truth*, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those, whose published labours advance the good of mankind."

The classical books, in which he is represented to have most delighted, were Homer, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Euripides. The first he could almost entirely repeat. Of the last he is said to have been a reader, not only with the taste of a poet, but

' In his *Areopagitica*.

with the "minuteness of a Greek critick." His Euripides, in two volumes, Paul Stephens's quarto edition of 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, has become the property of Mr. Cradock of Gumley in Leicestershire. Of these notes some have been adopted by Joshua Barnes, and some have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. In the first volume, page the first, is the name of John Milton, with the price of the book at 12s. 6s., and the date of the year 1634. I have to notice the existence of another treasure, bearing also the same date, the price 8s., and the name of John Milton, written by himself on the blank page opposite the title; his copy of Lycophron, with his own marginal observations. Of this remarkable curiosity I received my information from Mr. Walker, by whom it had been "inspected in the library of lord Charlemont. From Milton himself we learn, that "the divine volumes of Plato and his equall Xenophon" were principal objects of his regard; and that he preferred Sallust to all the Roman historians. Demosthenes has been supposed, by lord Monboddo and Mr. Hayley, to have been studied by him minutely and successfully.

On contemporary authors Milton has bestowed

* See Warton's 2d edit. of the Smaller Poems, p. 568. And Jodrell's Illustrations of Euripides, 1781, pp. 34. 336.

* My friend, the late Rev. Mr. Meen, was favoured with the use of this volume. And it was hoped, that his excellent version of Lycophron, accompanied with his own acute remarks, as well as Milton's marginal observations, on this author, would have been presented to the publick. But he is no more.

little praise. He has condescended more than once, as bishop Newton has observed, to applaud Selden. But I cannot agree with the learned prelate, that Milton seems disposed to censure rather than commend the rest. He has extolled, in his *Areopagitica*, the merits of lord Brooke, who had lately fallen in the service of the Parliament, and had written a treatise *against the English episcopacy*, and *against the danger of Sects and Schisms*, in terms of superabundant eulogy. He has also spoken of John Cameron, a learned divine and commentator, in terms of high respect; calling him "a late writer, much applauded, an ingenious writer, and in high esteem." And of Hartlib's literary character the *Treatise of Education* speaks largely. Hartlib also must be placed among Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance," as Aubrey calls Andrew Marvell, Cyriack Skinner, and Dr. Paget. And to these perhaps might be added Rouse and Vane. It is to be wondered that Milton, who has affectionately recorded the good qualities of many friends, should have omitted to grace his pages with a tribute of respect to the name of Henry More, the celebrated Platonist, his fellow-collegian; by whom Mr. Warton supposes him to have been led to the study of the *divine philosophy*, and of whose poetry, I am satisfied, he was an attentive reader. But one friend yet remains to be noticed, who had been the pupil of Milton, to whom he ap-

^b In his *Tetrachordon*.



pears^c to have rendered essential service, and of whom he presents a very estimable character. This person was Richard Heath, of Christ College, Cambridge, whom the biographers of Milton have overpassed. He was a man of great learning, accomplished in the Eastern tongues, and ^d serviceable to bishop Walton in his immortal work, the London Polyglot Bible. He became a non-conformist in 1662, and died some years before Milton.

The political principles of Milton were those of a thorough republican; which have been ascribed, by Dr. Johnson, to a native violence of temper, and to a hatred of all whom he was required to obey. The frequent asperity of this eminent biographer towards Milton, has been repeatedly noticed, by Mr. Hayley, with reprehension and regret; and, in the following instance, with eloquence, dignity, and instruction.

“ There can hardly be any contemplation more painful, than to dwell on the virulent excesses of eminent and good men; yet the utility of such contemplation may be equal to its pain. What mildness and candour should it not instil into ordinary mortals to observe, that even genius and virtue weaken their title to respect, in proportion as they recede from that evangelical charity, which should influence every man in his judgement of another.

^c See his Epist. Famil. Ep. xiii. Richardo Hetho. Dat. Westmon. Dec. 13, 1652.

^d Memoirs of Bishop Walton, &c. 1821, p. 268.

The strength and the acuteness of sensation, which partly constitute genius, have a great tendency to produce virulence, if the mind is not perpetually on its guard against that subtle, insinuating, and corrosive passion, hatred against all whose opinions are opposite to our own. Johnson professed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correspondence of Milton, there are words that imply a similarity of sentiment; they both thought there might be a sanctified bitterness, to use an expression of Milton, towards political and religious opponents; yet surely these two devout men were both wrong; and both in some degree unchristian in this principle. To what singular iniquities of judgement such a principle may lead, we might, perhaps, have had a most striking, and a double proof, had it been possible for these two energetick writers to exhibit alternately a portrait of each other. Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished as he was, appears, in the dark colouring of Johnson, a most unamiable being; but could he revisit earth in his mortal character, with a wish to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn; by that sublime and offended genius, of the great moralist, who has treated him with such excess of asperity. The passions are powerful colourists, and marvellous adepts in the art of exaggeration; but the portraits executed by Love (famous as he is for overcharging them) are infinitely more faithful to nature, than gloomy sketches from the heavy hand of Hatred; a passion not to be trusted or indulged

even in minds of the highest purity or power ; since Hatred, though it may enter the field of contest under the banner of justice, yet generally becomes so blind and outrageous, from the heat of contention, as to execute, in the name of virtue, the worst purposes of vice. Hence arises that species of calumny the most to be regretted, the calumny lavished by men of talents and worth on their equals or superiours, whom they have rashly and blindly hated for a difference of opinion. To such hatred the fervid and opposite characters, who gave rise to this observation, were both more inclined, perhaps, by nature and by habit, than Christianity can allow. The freedom of these remarks on two very great, and equally devout, though different writers, may possibly offend the partizans of both : in that case my consolation will be, that I have endeavoured to speak of them with that temperate though undaunted sincerity, which may satisfy the spirit of each in a purer state of existence."

The circumstances of Milton were never very affluent. The estate left him by his father was but small. In the civil war he is said to have sustained the loss of a considerable sum, which he had lent to the Parliament. As Secretary to the Council he enjoyed, while without an associate in the office, the annual sum of nearly three hundred pounds ; a

* See the different sums, in the preceding orders of council, which were officially allowed him, pp. 157. 169.

sum, which was lowered, when Philip Meadbwes and Andrew Marvell were his fellow-secretaries. He is said to have possessed an estate also, or rather perhaps an allowance out of the estates, of about sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the plundered Abbey of Westminster. It was not uncommon, during the Usurpation, to portion, out of the lands of deans and chapters and other ecclesiasticks, individuals with pensions. Of these revenues, as well as two thousand pounds which he had placed in the excise-office, he was deprived at the Restoration. He had before lost two thousand pounds by entrusting the sum to a scrivener; and, in the fire of London, his house in Bread-street was burnt. To Milton, however, the deficiency of wealth was little disappointment. Of his unsubdued spirit the following anecdote has been related. "Soon after the Restoration," he is said to have borrowed fifty pounds of Jonathan Hartop, of Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, who died in 1791, at the great age of 138. He "returned the loan with honour, though not without much difficulty, *as his circumstances were very low*. Mr. Hartop would have declined receiving it; but the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he sent the money with an angry letter, which was found among the curious possessions of that venerable old man."

¹ Easton's Human Longevity, printed at Salisbury, 1799, pp. 241, 242. This curious anecdote had appeared in the Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser of Mar. 31, 1790, Mr. Hartop being then living, and the letter described as extant.

The paucity of Milton's wants, and the frugal management of what he retained, enabled him indeed to live without distress. Of the property, which he left, the publication of his Nuncupative Will has rectified the mistaken accounts, given by all his biographers before Mr. Hayley. And of this curious document with the interesting notes of Mr. Warton who first published it, and with some important additions, the next section of the present biography consists.

Of Milton's family I will here subjoin a brief account. All his biographers notice his younger brother, Christopher, and his sister, Anne. Of two other sisters the existence has never been related. I have found, however, in the register of All-hallows Bread-street, the ^s births of Sarah and Tabitha Milton, and the death only of Sarah, to be there recorded.

Christopher was a royalist, and became, long after his brother's death, a judge. In the Rebellion he had compounded for his estate; and ^h among the

^s "The xvth daye of July 1612 was baptized SARA, the dawghter of John Mylton, scrivener. She was buried the vith of August following in the church.

"The xxxth of January, 1613, [that is 1613-14,] was baptized TABITHA, the dawghter of Mr. John Mylton.

"The third daye of December 1615 was baptized CHRISTOPHER, the sonne of John Mylton of this p^{re}sh, scrivener."
Extracts from the Register.

^h Second Series, vol. xiv. No. 732.

Royalists' Composition-Papers, in his Majesty's State-Paper-Office, his fine and the circumstances attending it, as in the case of Milton's ¹ father-in-law, are left upon record, and are too curious to be omitted.

“ Christopher Milton, of Reddinge in the County of Berks Esq^r. Councillor at Lawe. His Delinquency, that he was a Commissioner for the Kinge, under the Great Seale of Oxford, for sequestringe the Parliament's friends of three Countyes; and afterwards went to Excester, and lived there, and was there at the tyme of the surrender, and is to have the benefitt of those Articles, as by the Deputy Governor's Certificate of that place of the 16th of May 1646 doth appeare. He hath taken the Nationall Covenant before William Barton Minister of John Zacharies the 20th of April 1646, and the Negative Oath heere the 8th August 1646. He compounds upon a Perticular delivered in under his hand, by which he doth submit to such fine &c. and by which it doth appeare : ”

“ That he is seized in fee, to him and his heirs in possession, of and in a certain Messuage or Tenement scituatē in St. Martin's Parish Ludgate, called the Signe of the Crosse Keys, and was of the Yeerely Value, before theis troubles, 40*l*. Personal estate he hath none.

“ (*Signed*) { WILL. THOMSON.
 { Fine at 3^d is 200*l*.

“ (*Signed*) { 25th August, 1646.
 { JEROM ALEXANDER.

¹ See before, p. 68, seq.

“ To the Honorable Committee for Compositions with Delinquents sitting at Goldsmith’s Hall.

“ The humble Petition of Christopher Milton of Reddinge in the County of Berks Esq^r. Shewing,

“ That he executed a Commission of Sequestrations under the Great Seale at Oxford for three Countyes, and was at Exeter at the tyme of the Surrender thereof late made unto the Parliamente. And humbly prayes, that he may be admitted to compound, and to receive the benefitt of those Articles.

“ And he shall pray, &c.

(Signed)

“ CHRISTOPHER MILTON.

“ 7 August 1646.

“ Refer’d to the Sub-Committee.

“ A true Perticular of all the Estate, reall and personall, of me Christopher Milton of Reddinge in the County of Berks, a Councillor at Lawe.

“ That I am seized in fee, to mee and my heires in possession, of and in a certaine Messuage or Tenemente scituate, standinge, and beinge within St. Martin’s Parish Ludgate, called the Signe of the Cross Keyes, and was of the Yeerely value before theis troubles 40*l*. Personal estate I have none but what hath bin seized and taken from mee, and converted to the use of the State.

“ This is a true Perticular of all my estate, reall and personall, for which I onely desire to compound to free it out of sequestration; and doe submitt unto, and undertake to satisfye and pay, such fine as by

this Committee for Compositions with Delinquents shall be imposed and sett to pay for the same, in order to the freedome and dischargd of my person and estate.

(Signed)

“CHR. MILTON.”

This declaration is followed by certificates that he took the requisite oath, and that he had resided in Exeter seven months before the surrender of it to Fairfax. The final mention of his case is, that it was “reported 21 December, 1649, and that the fine (as already noticed) was 200*l*.”

This brother of Milton was knighted by James the second. He had long ^k resided in Ipswich, and is said to have fitted up a part of the mansion, which at one time belonged to the ancient family of Wingfield, for the celebration of the Roman Catholick worship; as he was professedly a papist. To a mansion in the village of Rushmere, (about two miles distant,) now called the White House, he then removed, and there died. He was ^l buried in the church of St. Nicholas in the town of Ipswich. In

^k What follows relating to Sir Christopher Milton, has been obligingly communicated to me by a learned friend, now resident at Ipswich, the Rev. James Ford, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

^l Parish Regist. of St. Nicholas, “1692. March 22, Sir Christopher Melton of Rushmore was buried in the church of this parish.” In the Reg. of Baptisms in St. Nicholas’ Parish also, the baptism of his daughter Mary, March 29, 1656, is entered.

the charter granted to this town, 36 Charles II. it may be added, he had been nominated and constituted the first and new deputy-recorder of it.

Anne, the sister of Milton, must have been elder than either of her brothers ; for her birth is not to be found in the register already mentioned : She was probably the eldest child, and born before her father settled in Bread-street. Milton's Verses on her daughter, written in his seventeenth year, serve to corroborate this supposition. She was first married to Mr. Phillips, afterwards to Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-Office of the Court of Chancery. By her first husband she had two sons, Edward and John, whom Milton educated ; by her second, two daughters. His brother, Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine ; and a son, Thomas, who succeeded Mr. Agar in his office. Of Milton's children who survived him, and of his widow Elizabeth, the notes on the Nuncupative Will give a distinct, and, in some respects, a new account. The several branches of his family appear to be now extinct. The case of Deborah, the youngest, which Mr. Warton deplors with sensibility, was ^m first noticed in a very feeling manner also, in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1727, and commended her to part of the little patronage which she obtained. While it has been ob-

^m It is also printed in the *European Magazine* for 1787, p. 65.

served, that the Nuncupative Will of Milton presents indeed a melancholy picture of domestick connexions, and that his conduct towards his daughters has been feelingly defended even by an eminent female pen; it has not been noticed, that part of the charge brought against him, I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and several other languages *without understanding any but English*, may be thought more strange and unaccountable, inasmuch as he appears to have been distinguished for the estimation in which he once held literary women; a circumstance which no biographer of Milton has hitherto recorded. Doctor Newton, indeed, facetiously tells us, that Milton used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman! But contemporary information will best illustrate this curious point in the history of the poet. “ⁿ We believe,” says the answerer to his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, “*you count no woman to due conversation accessible, AS TO YOU, except she can speak Hebrew, Greek, Latine, and French, and dispute against the Canon law as well as you, or at least be able to hold discourse with you.* But other gentlemen of good qualitie are content with meaner and fewer endowments, as you know well enough.”—I now recur to the defence of Milton by the distinguished lady, who speaking of the *modern revolutionary spirit* in families, and elegantly enforcing the subordination of domestick manners, argues “that,

ⁿ Answer to the Doct. and Disc. of Divorce, 1644, p. 16.

• among the faults with which it has been too much the fashion of recent times to load the memory of the incomparable Milton, one of the charges brought against his private character (for with his political character we have here nothing to do) has been, that he was so severe a father as to have compelled his daughters, after he was blind, to read aloud to him, for his sole pleasure, Greek and Latin authors of which they did not understand a word. But this is in fact nothing more than an instance of the strict domestick regulations of the age in which Milton lived; and should not be brought forward as a proof of the severity of his individual temper. Nor indeed in any case should it ever be considered as a hardship for an affectionate child to amuse an afflicted parent, even though it should be attended with a heavier sacrifice of her own pleasure than in the present instance.”

° *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, by Mrs. Hannah More, vol. i. p. 147, 6th edit. 1799.

SECTION VII.

*The ^a Nuncupative Will of Milton : with Notes by the late
Rev. Thomas Warton, and other Observations.*

“ ^b MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlesex Gentleman, deceased, at severall times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the disposall of his estate after his death, in these words following, or of like effect : *The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it : but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them ; they having been very undutifull to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to [the] disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife. Which*

^a First published by Mr. Warton, in his edit. of Milton's Smaller Poems, 1791. TODD.

^b As propounded in the Prerogative Court. WARTON.

words, or to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of CHRISTOPHER MILTON^c.

“ X [Mark of] ELIZABETH FISHER^d.

“ Nov. 23, 1674^e.

I.

The Allegation propounding the Will, on which Allegation the Witnesses be examined^f.

“ *Negotium Testamentarium, sive probacionis Tes-*

^c JOHN MILTON's younger brother; a strong royalist, and a professed papist. After the civil war, he made his composition through his brother's interest. Being a practitioner in the law, he lived to be an ancient Benchet of the Inner Temple: was made a judge of the Common Pleas, and knighted by king James the second; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he was at length dismissed from business, and retired to Ipswich, where he resided all the latter part of his life. WARTON.

But see what I have said of him in the preceding account of Milton, pp. 256, seq. TODD.

^d A servant-maid of John Milton. WARTON.

^e Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. This Will was contested by Mary, Deborah, and Anne Milton, daughters of the poet's first wife Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powel, of Foresthill in Oxfordshire. The cause came to a regular sentence, which was given against the Will; and the Widow, Elizabeth, was ordered to take Administration instead of a Probate. I must add here, that this cause, the subject of which needed no additional lustre from great names, was tried by that upright and able statesman, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Secretary of State; and that the depositions were taken in part before Dr. Trumbull, afterwards Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, and the celebrated friend of Pope. As a circumstantial and authentick history of this process, the following instruments, which were otherwise thought too curious to be suppressed, are subjoined. WARTON.

^f Viz. Christopher MILTON, and JOHN MILTON's two ser-

tamenti nuncupativi, sive ultimæ Voluntatis, JOHANNIS MILTON, nuper dum vixit parochiæ S. Ægidii *Cripplegate* London generosi, defuncti, habent. &c. promotum per Elizabetham MILTON^s Relictam, et

vant-maids Elizabeth and Mary Fisher. Witnesses on the part of the widow. WARTON.

^s This was his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire. He married her at the recommendation of his friend, and her relation, Dr. Paget, about the year 1661, and in his fifty-fourth year, soon after he had obtained his pardon from the restored king; being now blind and infirm, and wanting some more constant and confidential companion than a servant to attend upon his person. The elder Richardson insinuates, that this lady, being no poet or philosopher like her husband, used frequently to tease him for his carelessness or ignorance about money-matters, and that she was a *termagant*. He adds, that soon after their marriage, a royal offer was made to Milton of the resumption of his old department of Latin Secretary, and that, being strongly pressed by his wife to an acceptance, he scornfully replied, "Thou art in the right; you, as other women, *would ride in your Coach*. My aim is to live and die an *honest man*." LIFE, &c. p. xcix. seq. edit. 1734. From these papers, however, it appears, that she consulted her husband's humours, and treated his infirmities with tenderness. After his death in 1674, she retired to Namptwich in Cheshire, where she died about 1729. Mr. Pennant says, her father, Mr. Minshull, lived at Stoke in that neighbourhood. W. Tour, and Gough's *Camden*, Cheshire, p. 436. The third edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1678: and this is the poet's widow, to whom the copy of that work was then to devolve by original agreement, but who sold all her claims to Samuel Simmons, his bookseller, for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Decemb. 21, 1680. WARTON.

Among the letters of Mr. G. Grey to his brother Dr. Zach. Grey, was the following notice of this lady's death, which was obligingly communicated to me by J. Nichols, Esq. from the original in his possession: "There were three widow Miltons there,

Legatariam principalem nominatam in Testamento nuncupativo, sive ultima Voluntate, dicti defuncti, contra Mariam, Annam, et Deborah MILTON, filias dicti defuncti.

“ THOMPSON. CLEMENTS.

“ Secundo Andreae, A. D. 1674. Quo die . . . Thompson, nomine, procuratore, ac ultimus procurator legitimus, dictæ Elizabethæ MILTON, omnibus melioribus et effectualioribus [efficacioribus] via, modo, et meliori forma, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, exhibuit Testamentum nuncupativum dicti JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, sic incipiens, ‘ MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of S. Giles, Cripplegate,’ &c. Which words, or words to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of Christopher MILTON, and Elizabeth Fisher; et allegavit consimiliter, et dicens prout sequitur. I. Quod præfatus JOHANNES MILTON, dum vixit, mentis compos, ac in sua sana memoria existens, . . . Testamentum suum nuncupativum modo in hoc negotio exhibitum . . . tenoris schedulæ . . . testamentariæ condidit, nuncupavit, et declaravit; cæteraque omnia et singula dedit, donavit, reliquit, et disposuit, in omnibus, et per omnia, vel similiter in effectum, prout in dicto Testamento nuncupativo continetur,

(at Nantwich) viz. the poet's widow, my aunt, and another. The poet's widow died last summer.” Dated July 30, 1731. But this must have been a mistake of the writer. Milton's widow, it indisputably appears, died in 1727. See a subsequent note on this Will. This lady also was married to Milton not in 1661, but in 1665. See what is before said in p. 186. Tonn.

ac postea mortem obiit : ac Principalis Pars ista proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet. II. Item, quod tempore conditionis, declarationis, nuncupationis Testamenti, in hoc negotio exhibiti, præfatus JOHANNES MILTON perfecta fruebatur memoria ; ac proponit ut supra ^b.

II.

Interrogatories addressed to the Witnesses examined upon the Allegation.

“ Decemb. 5, 1674. Interrogatoria ministrata et ministranda ex parte Annæ, Mariæ, et Deboraë MILTON, testibus ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON productis sive producendis sequuntur.

“ *Imprimis*, Aske each witsesse, what relation to, or dependance on, the producent, they, or either of them, have ; and to which of the parties they would give the victory were it in their power ? Et interrogatur quilibet testis conjunctim, et divisim, et de quolibet.

“ 2. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what day, and what time of the day, the Will nuncupative was declared ; what positive words did the deceased use in the declaring thereof ? Can you positively swear, that the deceased did declare that hee did leave the residue of his estate to the disposall of his wife, or

^b Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr. WARTON.

did hee not say, ‘ I will leave the residue of my estate to my wife ? *Et fiat ut supra.*

“ 3. *Item*, Upon what occasion did the deceased declare the said Will ? Was not the deceased in perfect health at the same time ? Doe you not think, that the deceased, if he declared any such Will, declared it in a present passion, or some angry humour against some or one of his children by his former [first] wife ? *Et fiat ut supra.*

“ 4. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, whether the parties ministrant were not and are not greate frequenters of the Church, ¹ and good livers ; and what cause of displeasure had the deceased against them ? *Et fiat ut supra.*

“ 5. *Item*, Aske Mr. [Christopher] MILTON, and each other witnesse, whether the deceased’s Will, if any such was made, was not, that the deceased’s wife should have £.1000, and the children of the said Christopher MILTON the residue ; and whether she hath not promised him that they should have it,

· ¹ Here seems to be an insinuation, that our poet’s displeasure against those three daughters, arose partly from their adherence to those principles ; which, in preference to his own, they had received, or rather inherited, from their mother’s family, who were noted and active royalists. Afterwards, the description *good livers* is not to be understood in its general and proper sense, which could not have offended Milton ; but as arising from what went before, and meaning much the same thing, that is, *regular in their attendance on the established worship.* WARTON.

if shee prevailed in this Cause? Whether the said Mr. MILTON hath not since the deceased's death confessed soe much, or some part thereof? *Et fiat ut supra.*

" 6. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, whether what is left to the ministrants by the said Will is not reputed a very bad or altogether desperate debt^k? *Et fiat ut supra.*

" 7. Aske the said Mr. MILTON, whether he did

^k That is, the marriage portion, promised, but never paid, to JOHN MILTON, by Mr. Richard Powell, the father of his first wife; and which the said JOHN bequeathed to the daughters of that match, the ministrants, Anne, Mary, and Deborah. They were married in 1643. I have now before me an original "Inventorie of the goods of Mr. Richard Powell of Forresthill, in the county of Oxon, taken the 10th of June, A. D. 1646." This seems to have been taken in consequence of a seizure of Mr. Powell's house by the rebels. His distresses in the royal cause probably prevented the payment of his daughter's marriage portion. By the number, order, and furniture of the rooms, he appears to have lived as a country gentleman, in a very extensive and liberal style of house-keeping. This I mention to confirm what is said by Phillips, that Mr. Powell's daughter abruptly left her husband within a month after their marriage, disgusted with his spare diet and hard study, "after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and joviality," &c. I have also seen in Mr. Powell's house at Foresthill many papers, which show the active part he took in favour of the Royalists: With some others relating to the Rangership of the Shotover forest, bearing his signature. WARTON.

See my concluding note upon *the present document*. See also what is said, in the preceding pages, of Milton's marriage with Mary Powell, and of her family. TODD.

not gett the said Will drawn upp, and inform the writer to what effect he should draw it? And did he not enquire of the other witnesses, what they would or could depose? And whether he hath not solicited this Cause, and pay'd fees to the Proctour about it? *Et fiat ut supra.*

“8. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what fortune the deceased did in his life-time bestowe on the ministrants? And whether the said *Anne* MILTON is not lame, and almost ¹ helplesse? *Et fiat ut supra.*

“9. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what value is the deceased's estate of, as neare as they can guess? *Et fiat ut supra*^m.

III.

Depositions and cross-examinations of the said Witnesses.

“Elizabetha MILTON, Relicta et Legataria principalis JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, contra Annam, Mariam, et Deborah MILTON, filias ejusdem defuncti. Super Allegatione articulata et Testamento nuncupativo JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ex parte

¹ She was deformed, and had an impediment in her speech. His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foster by the third daughter Deborah, often spoke of his harshness to his daughters, and that he refused to have them taught to write. WARTON.

^m Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr. WARTON.

Elizabethæ MILTON predictæ, in hoc negotio, secundo Andreæ, 1674, dato^a et exhibitis.

“ Quinto Decembris 1674. Christopherus MILTON villæ Gipwici in com. Suffolciæ, ortus infra parochiam Omnium Sanctorum *Bredstreete*, London, ætat. 58 annor. aut eo circiter, testis, &c. Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allegationis, et ad Testamentum nuncupativum JOHANNIS MILTON, generosi, defuncti, in hoc negotio dat. et exhibit. deponit et dicit, That on, or about the twentieth day of July, 1674, the day certaine he now remembreth not, this deponent being a practicer in the Law, and a Bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipswich, did usually at the end of the Terme visit JOHN MILTON, his this deponent's brother the Testator articulate, deceased, before his going home; and soe at the end of Midsummer Terme last past, he this deponent went to visit his said brother, and then found him in his chamber within his owne house, situate on Bunhill^o within the parish of S. Giles, Crepel-

^a Sic, ut et infra, pro *Milton*. WARTON.

^o Sometimes called the *Artillery-walk*, leading to Bunhill fields. This was his last settled place of abode, and where he lived longest. Richardson calls this house a “small house, where he died about fourteen years after he was out of publick employ.” Ubi supr. p. xciii. It was here that he wrote or finished *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. But in 1665, when the plague broke out in London, he retired to Chalfont Saint Giles, where his friend Elwood, a quaker, had taken a house for him; and the next year, when the danger was over, he came back to Bunhill-fields. The house at Chalfont, in which he resided in this short space of time, and

gate, London: And at that tyme, he the said Testator, being not well, (and this deponent being then going into the country,) in a serious manner, with an intent, (as he believes,) that what he then spoke should be his WILL, if he dyed before his this deponent's coming the next time to London, declared his Will in these very words as neare as this deponent cann now call to mynd, viz. *Brother, the porcion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former [first] wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her: but I have receaved noe part of it, and my Will and meaning is, they shall have noe other benefit of my estate, than the said porcion and what I have besides don for them: they haveing been very undutiful to me. And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposall of Elizabeth my loveing wife.* She, the said Elizabeth his the deceased's wife, and Elizabeth Fysher his the deceased's then maide-servant, was [at the] same tyme goeing up and downe the roome, but whether

where he planned or began *Paradise Regained*, is still standing, small, but pleasantly situated. See Elwood's *Life of Himself*, p. 246. Who calls it "a pretty box." WARTON.

Mr. Dunster, in the additions to his edition of *Paradise Regained*, remarks that the house is not pleasantly situated. "The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleasant; but the immediate spot is as little picturesque or pleasing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the house, a grass field rises so abruptly as completely to exclude all prospect: and the common road of the village passes by the gable end, adjoining to which is the end of a small dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton." TODD.

she then heard the said deceased, so declare his Will as above or not, he knoweth not.

“ And the said testator at the premises was of perfect mind and memory and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, *et aliter nescit deponere*.

“ CHR. MILTON.

“ AD INTERROGATORIA.

“ Ad 1^m. Interr. *respondet*, that the party producent in this cause was and is the relict of the said deceased, who was his this respondent's brother ; and the parties ministring these interrogatories were and are in repute, and soe he beleeveth, his the said deceased's children by a former wife : and for his part, he wisheth right to take place, and soe would give it if in his power ; and likewise wisheth that his brother's Will might take effect.

“ Ad 2^m. Interr. *respondet*, that on what day of the moneth or weeke the said deceased declared his Will, as is above deposed, he now remembreth not precisely ; but well remembreth, that it was in a forenoone, and on the very day he this deponent was goeing in the country in [the] Ipswich coach, which goeth not out of towne till noone or thereabout ; and he verily beleeveth in his conscience, that the residue of his estate he did then dispose of in these very words, viz. *And all the residue of my estate I*

leave to the disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife ; or he used words to the selfe-same effect, et aliter referendo se ad pre-depos. nescit respondere.

“ Ad 3^m. Interr. *respondet*, that the said deceased was then ill of the goute, and what he then spake touching his Will was in a very calme manner ; only [he] complained, but without passion, that his children had been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him ; and he believeth the only reason induced the said deceased at that time to declare his Will was, that he this deponent might know it before his goeing into the country, *et aliter referendo se ad pre-deposita nescit respondere.*

“ Ad 4^m. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth not how the parties ministring these interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and conversacion they are of, they living apart from their father four or five yeares last past, and as touching his the deceased's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the tyme of declareing of his Will, that they were undutifull and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars ; but in former tymes he hath herd him complaine, that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of^p deserteing him, *et aliter nescit respondere.*

^p This desertion is in part explained by his nephew Phillips,

“ Ad 5^m. Interr. *respondet*, that since this respondent's coming to London this Michaelmas Terme last paste, this respondent's sister, the party now producent in this cause, told this respondent, that the deceased his brother did after his this respondent's going into the country in Trinity vacacion last summer [say,] that, if she should have any over-plus above a 1000*l*. come to her hands of his the deceased's estate, she should give the same to this respondent's children : but the deceased himselfe did not declare any such thing to this respondent at the tyme of his declaring his Will, the tyme above deposed of.

“ Ad 6^m. Interr. *respondet*, that he beleeveth that what is left to the parties ministring these interrogatories by the said deceased's Will, is in the hands of persons of ability abell to pay the same, being their grandmother and uncle ; and he hath seen the grandfather's Will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors, *et aliter nescit respondere*.

and after him by Toland : That he taught these young women to read and pronounce with great exactness the English, Italian, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages ; that one or other of them was forced occasionally to read books in each language to him, though neither of them understood more than their mother tongue ; that this drudgery could not but render them in time uneasy ; and that accordingly they were all, even the eldest, dispensed with their duty in this case, and sent out to learn other things suitable to their sex and condition. For their neglect, *their being careless*, of their blind parent, I can find no palliation. TODD.

“ Ad 7^m. Interr. *respondet*, that he this respondent did draw upp the very Will executed in this cause, and write it with his owne hand, when he came to this court, about the 23d of November last past, and at that tyme this respondent did read the same all over to Elizabeth Fisher, the said deceased's late maid servant, and she said she remembered the same, and in confirmation whereof set her marke thereto in manner as on the same Will executed in this cause is now to be seen. And this respondent waited on the said deceased's widdow once at Doctor Exton's chambers about this suite, at which tyme she wanted some halfe crownes, and this respondent lent her then two halfe crownes, but more he hath at noe tyme paid either to Doctor or Proctor in this cause.

“ Ad 8^m. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth of noe fortune given by the said deceased to the parties ministring these interrogatories, besides the portion which he was promised with his former wife in marriage, being a 1000*l*. which is still unpaid besides the interest thereof for about twenty yeares, saveing his charges in their maintenance and breeding, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saveing that Anne Milton interr. is lame and helples.

“ Ad ult. reddit causas scientiæ suæ ut supra.

“ Die prid. repetit. cor. Doctore Lloyd, Surrog.

“ CHR. MILTON,

"Milton con. Thompson.

"Milton et Milton, Clements.

Sup. All^{is}. artic. et Testamento nuncupativo Johan. Milton defuncti ex parte Elizabethæ Milton in hujusmodi Causa dat. et admiss. examinat.

" 15^o Dec. 1674.

" Maria Fisher, soluta famul. domestica Johan. Batten habitan. in vico vocat. Bricklane in Old Streete ubi moram fecit per spacium sex hebdomadarum aut eo circiter, antea cum Benjamine Whitcomb Mercatore habitan. in vico vocat. Coleman Streete London per spacium 3m. mensium, antea cum Guiddon Culcap infra locum vocat. Smock Alley prope Spittlefields per spacium unius anni, aut eo circiter, antea cum Johanne Bayley infra Oppidum Milton in Com. Stafford per spacium duorum annorum, antea cum Johanne Baddily infra parochiam de Milton præd. per spacium trium annorum, et antea cum quodam Rogers Hargrave infra parochiam de Milton præd. per spacium duorum annorum aut eo circiter, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. Stafford præd. ætatis 23 aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

" Ad omnes articulos dictæ All^{is}. et ad testa-

mentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi neg^o dat. et exhibit. *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent knew and was well acquainted with the articulate John Milton, the testator in this cause deceased, for about a twelve moneth before his death, who dyed about a moneth since to the best of this deponent's remembrance; And saith, that on a day hapning about two moneths since, as neare as this deponent can remember, this deponent being then in the kitchen of the house of the foresaid John Milton, scituate against the Artillery Ground neare Bunhill Fields, and about noone of the same day, the said deceased and the producent Elizabeth his wife being then at dinner in the said kitchen, hee the said deceased amongst other discourse then had betweene him and his said wife, did then speake to his said wife and utter these words, viz. *Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposal*; there being then present in the said kitchen this deponent's sister and *contest*^a namely Elizabeth Fysher. And the said deceased was at that time of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, and was very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Signum MARIE FISHER.

^a i. e. Fellow-witness, Con-Testis. WARTON.

“ AD INTERROGATORIA.

“ Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath noe relation or dependance on the producent Elizabeth Milton, that it is indifferent to this respondent which of the parties in this suite obtaine, and would give the victory in this cause if in her power to that party that hath most right ; but which party hath most right thereto this respondent knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember the day when the deceased declared the words by her pre-deposed, but remembreth that it was about noone of such day that the words which hee then declared were these; viz. *Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposall* ; then speaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton the party producent in this cause, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the deceased, when hee declared the words pre-deposed, was then at dinner with his wife the party producent and was then very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body ; but upon what occasion hee spoke the said words shee knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respon-

dent knoweth neither of the parties ministrant in this cause saving this respondent once saw Anne Milton one of the ministrants, *et nescit respondere pro parte sua.*

“ *Ad quintum Interr. nescit respondere.*

“ *Ad sextum Interr. nescit respondere.*

“ *Ad septimum Interr. non concernit eam, et nescit respondere.*

“ *Ad octavum Interr. respondet*, that this respondent once saw the Interr. Anne Milton but doth not remember whether shee was lame or helplesse, *et aliter nescit.*

“ *Ad 9^m. Interr. respondet*, that this respondent knoweth nothing of the deceased's estate or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit.*

“ *Eodem die repetit. coram Doctore Digby, Surro. &c. pñte Tho. Welham, N. P.*

“ *Signum MARLÆ FISHER.*

“ *Eodem Die*

Elizabetha Fisher, famula domestica Elizabethæ Milton ptis producentis in hac causa cum qua et Johanne Milton ejus marito defuncto vixit

per spacium 13 mensium, antea cum quodam Thoma Adams apud Bagnall in Com. Stafford per spacium trium annorum et sex mensium, antea cum W^{mo}. Bourne Gen. infra parochiam de Woolstilstan in Com. Stafford præd. per spacium duorum annorum, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. præd. ætatis 28 annorum aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

“ Ad omnes articulos dictæ All^{nia}. et ad testamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi negotio dat. exhibit. et admiss. *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent was servant unto Mr. JOHN MILTON the testator in this cause deceased for about a yeare before his death, who died upon a Sunday the ^r fifteenth of November last at night, And saith that on a day hapning in the month of July last, the time more certainly she remembereth not, this deponent being then in the deceased's lodging chamber, hee the said deceased, and the party producent in this cause his wife, being then alsoe in the said chamber at dinner together, and the said Elizabeth Milton the party producent having provided something for the deceased's dinner which hee very well liked, ^s hee the

^r She appears to have been mistaken, a single week, in her deposition. See the Life, p. 217. TODD.

^s His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foster, by his third daughter Deborah, used to say, that he was delicate, but temperate in his diet. WARTON.

Toland had before said, that he was extraordinary temperate

said deceased then spoke to his said wife these or the like words, as neare as this deponent can remember, viz. *God have mercy Betty, I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such dishes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all,* there being noebody present in the said chamber with the said deceased and his wife but this deponent : And the said testator at that time was of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, but was then indisposed in his body by reason of the distemper of the gout, which hee had then upon him. Further this deponent saith, that shee hath sevrall times heard the said deceased, since the time above deposed of, declare and say, that hee had made provision for his children in his life-time, and had spent the greatest part of his estate in providing for them, and that hee was resolved hee would doe noe more for them liveing or dyeing, for that little part which hee had left hee had given to his wife the articulate Elizabeth the producent, or he used words to that effect. And likewise told this deponent, that there was a thousand pounds left in Mr. Powell's hands to be disposed amongst his children hereafter. By all which words this respondent verily beleeveth that the said testator had given all his estate to the articulate Elizabeth his wife, and that shee should have the

in his diet, which was *any thing most in season or the easiest procured.* TODD.

same after his decease, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saving that the said deceased was at the several times of declaring the words last pre-deposed alsoe of perfect mind and memory.

“ Signum ELIZAB. FISHER.

“ AD INTERROGATORIA.

“ Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent was servant to the deceased in his life time and is now servant to the producent and therefore hath a dependency upon her as her servant, that if the victory were in this respondent's power shee would give the deceased's estate equally to be shared betweene the ministrants and the producent, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember on what day the deceased declared the words first by her afore deposed, but it was about noone of such day when he was at dinner that the precise words as neare as this respondent can remember which the deceased used at that time were these, viz. *God have mercy Betty* (speaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton, for soe hee usually called her,) *I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such dishes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all ; et aliter nescit ; sav-*

ing that this respondent well remembreth that the deceased declared the words last by her deposed to the articles of the allegation to this respondent once on a Sunday in the afternoone, but on what day of the month or in what month the said Sunday then happened this respondent doth not remember.

“ Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the occasion of the deceased's speaking of the words deposed by this respondent in her answer to the next precedent interrogatory was upon the producent's provideing the deceased such victuals for his dinner as hee liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health, saving that some time he was troubled with the paine of the gout, and that hee was at that time very merry and not in any passion or angry humour, neither at that time spoke any thing against any of his children that this respondent heard of, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath heard the deceased declare his displeasure against the parties ministrant his children, and particularly the deceased declared to this respondent that, a little before hee was marryed to Elizabeth Milton his now relict, a former maid servant of his told Mary one of the deceased's daughters and one of the ministrants, that shee heard the deceased was to be marryed, to which the said Mary replied to the said maid servant, that that was noe news to heare of his wedding, but if shee could heare of his

death that was something : and further told this respondent, that all his said children did combine together and counsel his maid servant to cheat him the deceased in her markettings, and that his said children had made away some of his bookes and would have ' sold the rest of his bookes to the dung-hill women ; or hee the said deceased spoke words to this respondent to the selfe same effect and purpose : that this respondent knoweth not what frequenters of the church, or what good livers, the parties ministrant or either of them are, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad quintum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not know that the deceased's wife was to have 1000*l*. and the interrogative children of Christopher Milton the residue, nor doth this respondent know that the said Elizabeth, the deceased's wife, hath promised the interrogative Christopher Milton or his children any such thing in case shee should prevaile in this cause ; that the said Mrs. Milton never confessed soe much in this respondent's hearing, or to any body else that this respondent knoweth of, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad sextum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent believeth that what is left the deceased's children in the Will nuncupative in this cause executed

* See, however, what is told in my concluding note on the present document. TODD.

and mencioned therein to be due from Mr. Powell, is a good debt; for that the said Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad septimum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent did voluntarily tell the interrogative Mrs. Milton, what shee heard the deceased say, which was to the effect by her pre-deposed, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad octavum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not what the deceased did in his life time bestow on the ministrants his children, and that the interrogative Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade and can live by the same, which is the making of gold and silver lace and which the deceased bred her up to, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Ad nonum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not the deceased's estate, or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit*.

“ Eodem die repetit. coram Doctore *Trumbull*, Surrog. &c. Tho. Welham, N. P “.

“ Signum ELIZABETHÆ FISHER.

“ Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supra. WARTON.

IV.

“ Grant of Letters of Administration to the widow Elizabeth ^{*}.

“ Die 25th. Februarii 1674.

“ JOHANNES MILTON. Vicesimo	} ult. Julii.
quinto Die Februarii emanavit Commissio Elizabethæ	
MILTON Relictæ JOHANNIS	
MILTON nuper Parochiæ	
Sancti Egidii Cripplegate in	
Com. Mid. Defuncti hēntis,	
&c. ad Administrand. bona.	
jura, et credita dicti defuncti,	
de bene &c. jurat. Testamento Nuncupativo dict. de-	
functi : aliter per antedictam Elizabetham MILTON Alle-	
gato, nondum Probato.”	ult. Dec.

^{*} The reader will compare these evidences with the printed accounts of Milton's biographers on this subject; who say, that he sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, which his widow Elizabeth seized, and only gave one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Of this widow, Phillips relates, rather harshly, that she persecuted his children in his life time, and *cheated* them at his death. Milton had children, who survived him, only by his first wife, the three daughters so after named. Of these, Anne, the first, deformed in stature, but with a handsome face, married a master builder, and died of her first childbirth, with the infant. Mary, the second, died single. Deborah, the third, and the greatest fa-

vourite of the three, went over to Ireland as companion to a lady in her father's life-time ; and afterwards married Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spital-fields, and died, aged seventy-six, in August 1727. This is the daughter that used to read to her father ; and was well known to Richardson, and Professor Ward : a woman of a very cultivated understanding, and not inelegant of manners. She was generously patronised by Addison ; and by Queen Caroline, who sent her a present of fifty guineas. She had seven sons and three daughters, of whom only Caleb and Elizabeth are remembered. Caleb migrated to Fort Saint George, where perhaps he died. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, married Thomas Foster a weaver in Spital-fields, and had seven children, who all died. She is said to have been a plain sensible woman ; and kept a petty grocer's or chandler's shop, first at lower Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch church. In April, 1750, *Comus* was acted for her benefit : Doctor Johnson, who wrote the Prologue, says, " she had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her." The profits of the performance were only one hundred and thirty pounds ; although Doctor Newton contributed largely, and twenty pounds were given by Jacob Tonson the bookseller. On this trifling augmentation to their small stock, she and her husband removed to Islington, where they both soon died. So much greater is our taste, our charity, and general national liberality, at the distance of forty years, that I will venture to pronounce, that, in the present day, a benefit at one of our theatres for the relief of a poor and an infirm grand-daughter of the author of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, would have been much more amply and worthily supported.

THESE seem to have been the grounds, upon which Milton's Nuncupative Will was pronounced invalid. First, there was wanting what the Civil Law terms a *rogatio testium*, or a solemn bidding of the persons present, to take notice that the words he was going to deliver were to be his Will. The Civil Law requires the form, to make men's verbal declarations operate as Wills ; otherwise, they are presumed to be words of common calling or loose conversation. And the Statute of the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second [c. iii.] has adopted this rule ; as may be seen in the 19th clause of that Statute, usually called the

Statute of Frauds, which passed in the year 1676, two years after Milton's death. Secondly, the words, here attested by the three witnesses, are not words delivered at the same time; but one witness speaks to one declaration made at one time, and another to another declaration made at another time. And although the declarations are of similar import, this circumstance will not satisfy the demands of the Law; which requires, that the three witnesses who are to support a Nuncupative Will, must speak to the identical words uttered at one and the same time. There is yet another requisite in Nuncupative Wills, which is not found here; namely, that the words be delivered in the last sickness of a party: whereas the words here attested appear to have been delivered when the party was in a tolerable state of health, at least under no immediate danger of death. On these principles we may presume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's Will: although the three witnesses apparently told the truth in what they deposed. The Judge, deciding against the Will, of course decreed administration of the Intestate's effects to the widow.

For an investigation of these papers in the Prerogative Registry, for an explanation of their nature and purport, and of other technical difficulties which they present to one unacquainted with the records and more ancient practice of the prerogative court in testamentary proceedings, I must confess myself indebted to the kind attention and friendship of SIR WILLIAM SCOTT. There are other papers in the Commons belonging to this business: but as they are mere forms of law, as they throw no new light on the cause, and furnish no anecdotes of Milton and his family, they are here omitted. WARTON.

To what is said, at the beginning of the preceding note, of Milton's *having sold his library*, and of his *personal property*, some additions are requisite; since his daughters in this Will are said, by a servant woman, as repeating it from Milton, to have *made away some of his books*, and to have intended *selling the rest to the dunghill women*; a story of the highest improbability: as if the dunghill women understood a traffick of this kind, as if those who visited Milton should never have heard of such a spoliation, and as if his brother Christopher could have been wholly ignorant of it. What is the evidence of this brother as to these

slandered nieces? He says, "that touching his deceased brother's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the time of declaring his Will, that they were undutiful and unkind to him, *not expressing any particulars*:" as if Milton would have forborne to *particularize the plunder* of what had been collected with great expense perhaps as well as taste, and through the instrumentality of those who read to him or conversed with him could still be the solace of age and blindness. Toland indeed notices a diminution of his books made by himself. "Towards the latter part of his life he contracted his library, both because the heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themselves." A provident determination, and a very probable account.

Whatever might be the sum he left at his death, three receipts bearing the signatures of the three daughters, on each receiving 100*l.* from their step-mother Elizabeth, were brought before the publick in 1825 at the sale of the books and manuscripts of my friend, the late James Boswell, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. These payments were made as portions to them of the estate of their father; and were to be vested in rent-charges or annuities for their respective benefit with the approbation of their paternal and maternal uncles, Richard Powell and Sir Christopher Milton. Besides these receipts a copy of the Will of Elizabeth Milton, the poet's widow, together with some legal papers relating to her property, was at the same dispersion of literary curiosities sold. The Will is dated Aug. 27, 1727; and the probate appears to have been granted Oct. 10, 1727, by which her death in that year is established.

The profits for the grand-daughter by the performance of *Comus* appear to have been too highly rated by Mr. Warton; for I was informed by the late Isaac Reed, Esq. that the receipts of the House were only 147*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* from which the expences deducted were 80*l.* Todd.

SECTION VIII.

Of Compositions left by Milton in Manuscript, and particularly of his Treatise of Theology lately discovered.

To Aubrey we are first indebted for information upon this interesting part of Milton's history. He tells us, that the widow of the poet gave *all his papers*, among which was the dictionary already noticed, to his nephew; and that she had "*a great many letters by her from learned men of his acquaintance, both of England, and beyond sea.*" But from this nephew, who has told us too so much of his uncle's friends as well as writings, we have derived no information of a correspondence so important. Aubrey also seems to have looked for what is elsewhere unnoticed, of which a discovery indeed would be to literature an acquisition of highest value, "*Mr. J. Milton's Life, writt by himselfe.*"

^a The whole passage in Aubrey is this: "Qu. Mr. Allam; of Edm. Hall. Oxon, of Mr. J. Milton's Life writt by himselfe."

Phillips relates that Milton had "prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the dissuasion of his friends, or for what other cause he knew not, *this answer was never published.*"

Toland, after reciting many publications of Milton, informs us, that " ^b he daily expected more pieces of this accomplished gentleman from ^c James Tyrrel, *who has the manuscript copies in his hands*, and will not envy such a blessing to the nation." But to what was known this seeming goodly promise added nothing.

Of the *Letters of State* published after the death of Milton, and of his Dictionary in manuscript, accounts have been ^d already given.

The *Brief History of Moscovia, and of other less known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay*, Milton had evidently designed for the press before he died. " ^e What was scattered in many volumes," he says, " and observed at several times by eye-witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid toge-

^b Life of Milton, ed. Hollis, p. 132.

^c A professed and very learned Whig, who published a History of England, 1696—1704, which is extremely curious and valuable, and now also not of frequent occurrence.

^d See before, pp. 171, 181.

^e Pref. to the Hist.

ther. This essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, *not amiss to be published.*" But it appeared not till about eight years after his death.

We come now to the information, given also by Aubrey, of Milton's "*IDEA THEOLOGICÆ, in manuscript, in the hands of Mr. Skinner, a merchant's sonne, in Marke Lane.*" From Aubrey, and from Milton's relations, Wood repeats it, with mentioning *Cyriack Skinner*, as the depositary of this relick ; and what the one calls *Idea Theologiæ*, the other indeed adopts, but also terms it, *The Body of Divinity* ; at that time, "or at least lately," he adds, "in the hands of Milton's acquaintance, Cyr. Skinner." Aubrey seems to speak with hesitation, as if there was another Mr. Skinner to whom the manuscript might have been entrusted ; for he says, after naming the existence of it, "Mem. There was one Mr. Skinner of the Jerkers' Office, up two paire of stayres at the Custom House ;" which however he might have noticed, with a view perhaps only to obtain further information respecting the manuscript he had merely mentioned. But it will certainly be seen, that into the hands of Mr. *Daniel Skinner*, 'supposed to be the son of a merchant too in Mark Lane, this manuscript had passed. Yet from the hands of

' By Mr. Pulman of the Heralds' College, who is inclined to believe that he was the eldest son of Daniel Skinner, merchant, of the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street ; which parish comprises a considerable part of Mark Lane. *Communicated to me by Dr. Sumner.*

Milton, or by his desire, Cyriack Skinner we may suppose to have been the person who first received it. He had been the pupil of Milton; he continued to be among his ^s learned familiar acquaintance; he lived indeed ^b near him; he was a member of the same club with him; and to him were addressed by the poet two Sonnets. Of this literary friend of Milton yet a word or two more. Wood tells us, that he was "a merchant's son of London, an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to John Milton;" and that he had distinguished himself in political disputation, as an occasional chairman at the Rota Club, where topicks in support of democracy on its death-bed were amply discussed in 1659, and where the zeal of Skinner sometimes perhaps disdained the bounds of circumspection; for it is spoken of him in derision by the younger nephew of Milton, among the memorable things of 1661, "that it was one year since Mr. Skinner spake discreetly at the Rota!" He died in London, leaving a daughter only, it has been said, in 1700.

Possessed of this theological treatise, upon which he and Milton had probably often conversed, Cyriack Skinner might know whether the author himself had ^k intended to publish it; which now indeed is a

^s As Aubrey has informed us.

^b Dr. Sumner's *Introduct.* p. viii.

ⁱ John Phillips's *Almanack of Montelion* for the year 1661.

^k Some expressions in the Preface to the treatise seem to signify an intention of this kind; "*hæc si omnibus palam facio*"—

questionable point. Milton died at the close of 1674. Skinner appears, however, to have been in no haste to give the work to the world. The surreptitious edition of the *State-Letters* had certainly excited an alarm, and an inquiry, as to any other unpublished papers of the deceased secretary. But Skinner seems to have sought a publick notification of the religious sentiments of his friend, not from the typography of his own country, but from a foreign press. And accordingly a Mr. Daniel Skinner commenced a correspondence with the celebrated Daniel Elzevir of Amsterdam on the subject both of the *Theological Treatise* and the *State-Letters* of Milton. Daniel Skinner was, at this time, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and, it can hardly be doubted, a near relation of Cyriack; perhaps his nephew, as Mr. Lemon conjectures. He had been^m educated in Westminster School, which he left for the University in 1670; and the dates of his admission as a minor and a major fellow are in October 1674 and in May 1679. Of the letters, and of the first 196 pages of the treatise, this gentleman had been theⁿ copyist. To the employment of transcribing he

“*hæc quàm possum latissimè libentissimèque impertio,*” &c. But I lay no great stress upon this point.

^l See before, p. 181.

^m From Dr. Sumner. And see his *Introduct.* p. xiv.

ⁿ The hand-writing of the 196 pages is the same as that of the *State-Letters*; which latter is attested by Daniel Skinner himself to be his, as it has recently been discovered in the *State-Paper Office*. The whole treatise consists of 735 pages. See more upon this subject in a subsequent page.

had perhaps been incited, or recommended, by Cyriack Skinner, when ° Milton, at the request of the Danish resident, consented to a transcript of his letters. He had been doubtless one of those; “^p whom Milton had daily about him to read to him; some, persons of man's estate, who of their own accord greedily caught at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading; *others, of younger years, sent by their parents to the same end.*” From copying more of the treatise Skinner perhaps desisted, when he found that Elzevir, to whom the whole of the manuscript was submitted, declined to print it; or when the letter from the master of his college aroused him to a sense of danger in what he purposed. His own ^q attestation, dated Oct. 18, 1676, now in the State-Paper Office, is, that he had sent “the true perfect copy of State-Letters to Elzevir, at Amsterdam, to be printed.” In the November following, however, Daniel Elzevir addressed Sir Joseph Williamson, then one of the principal Secretaries of State, with the ^r information, (dated

° See before, p. 180.

^p Phillips's Life of Milton.

^q Discovered, since the publication of Dr. Sumner's volumes, by Mr. Lemon in the State-Paper Office.

^r Discovered also, since Dr. Sumner's publication, among the State-Paper treasures, by Mr. Lechmere, of that Office; and transmitted to me, with his accustomed zeal to afford all the information in his power, by Mr. Lemon, while this portion of my narrative was passing through the press.

at Amsterdam,) “ that about a year before, Mr. Skinner put into his hands this collection of Letters and a Treatise on Theology, with directions to print them; but that on examining them he (Elzevir) found many things in them, which, in his opinion, had better be suppressed than divulged; that he declined printing them; and that Mr. Skinner had lately been at Amsterdam, had expressed himself to be highly gratified that he (Elzevir) had not commenced the printing of those works, *and then took away the manuscripts.*” Still in possession of the manuscripts, Skinner did not yet return to England. But inquiry had now been certainly made after the papers of Milton, directed by the judicious vigilance both of political and academical precaution in our own country. In the February following, Dr. Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity College, communicated to Skinner by letter a peremptory order “ ‘ to repair immediately to the College; no further allowance to discontinue being granted to you: this you are to doe upon penalty of y^e Statute, which is expulsion from y^e College if you disobey. We doe also warn you, *that if you shall publish any writing mischievous to y^e Church or State,* you will thence incur a forfeiture of your interest here. I hope God will give you y^e wisdom and grace to take warning.” Barrow had entrusted this letter to a friend; to whom he says, “ ‘ I am sorry for the miscarriages

* Dated 13 Feb, 1676—7. State-Pap. Off. Domest. Papers, vol. xix. fol. 165. Directed *For Mr. Daniel Skinner.*

* Dated as the preceding. Dom. Pap. *ibid.* p. 167. Directed,

of that wild young man to whom I have written the enclosed, which you may please to seale and send." It was sent, and delivered in the March following to Skinner, then at Paris, by Mr. Perwich, "who communicated this intelligence to Mr. Bridgeman, Sir Joseph Williamson's secretary; and that he had delivered it before witness; thus at once attesting the notice, which the English government also was taking, of Skinner and his project. "I found him," Mr. Perwich says, "*much surprised*, and yet at the same time slighting any constraining orders from the superiour of his College, or any benefit he expected thence; *but as to Milton's workes he intended to have printed; (though he saith that part which he had in MSS. are noe way to be objected ag^t either with regard to royalty and government,) he hath desisted from causing them to be printed, having left them in Holland*; and that he intends, notwithstanding the College summons, to goe for Italy this summer." It should be mentioned, that after the words "either with regard to royalty and government," in Mr. Perwich's letter, something further seems to have been intended, in order to complete what *either* leads us to expect; such as, "*or to religion, church-polity, or a similar expression,*" as Dr. Sumner has justly observed.

Perhaps with the suspected papers Skinner soon

For my reverend friend, Mr. George Seignior, at Ely House in Holborne, London.

" Dr. Sumner's Introduct. p. xi.

returned to England; but at what exact period we know not. He had been compelled to confess all he knew respecting them; and had an interview with Sir Joseph Williamson upon the subject. He was accordingly advised or invited, we may suppose, to deliver the manuscripts to the Secretary of State; and thus might be led to expect, by this voluntary cession of them, the forgiveness of his College after his slighting their commands, and their admission of him at last to the honour which appears to have been long withheld, namely, that of a major fellowship of his College, till May 1679.

Such was the person, who transcribed *the first part of the manuscript*, apparently for the press; the collections or extracts made at different times, and for a long period perhaps, together with amendments or alterations, being now arranged, or assumed to be fit for publication. For *the remainder of the manuscript* is in an entirely different hand, being a strong upright character, * undoubtedly the same hand which transcribed the beautiful Sonnet of Milton, beginning *Methought I saw my late espoused Saint*, which is now among the manuscripts of Milton in Trinity College, Cambridge; and this scribe is believed to be his daughter Deborah, † whom Wood expressly calls his amanuensis. *This part of the volume* is interspersed with interlineations and cor-

* See what is presently said of the collation of the writing in the Treatise and this Sonnet.

† Fasti Oxon.

rections, and in some places with small slips of writing pasted in the margin. The corrections are in a different hand-writing, the writer of which cannot now be ascertained.

Thus I have endeavoured satisfactorily to account for the long-lost theological treatise of Milton having been deposited in his Majesty's State-Paper Office. The * conjecture, acutely proposed and ably illustrated, of its having found its way into this treasury of national documents, in consequence of a supposed connection of Cyriack Skinner with the popish plot in 1677, is therefore now at rest. Dr. Sumner indeed anticipated the probability, that some such discovery would be made, as I have related; and, after Barrow's letter was found, communicated to me his new conjecture nearly tallying with the facts. Of Skinner, a Benedictine, denounced by Titus Oates in 1678 as a confederate in the alleged conspiracy of the preceding year, and conjectured also to have been implied in Milton's papers, we may now consign the memory to oblivion; since a Benedictine could not, as Daniel Skinner was, be the fellow of a Protestant college; nor, as Cyriack appears to have been, a married man. I have only further to observe, that if Cyriack Skinner had been suspected as a conspirator, and if his papers had been seized, such circumstances would hardly have escaped the minute inquiries of Anthony Wood and of Toland; who both say, while Cyriack Skinner too,

* By Mr. Lemon and Dr. Sumner. *Introduct.* p. x.

was living, that the manuscript of Milton at the close of the seventeenth century was *then*, or *lately had been*, in his hands. Cyriack was too discreet to undeceive others. The offence, which had been given, was pardoned; and the obnoxious treatise was reposed upon the shelves in the Old State-Paper Office at Whitehall, till in the year 1823 Mr. Lemon, the deputy-keeper of the State-Papers, in his indefatigable researches, discovered it loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, which, it is curious to add, were proof-sheets of Horace, one of the publications of Daniel Elzevir. The State-Letters of Milton were in the same parcel. And the whole was enclosed in a cover directed, *To Mr. Skinner, Merch.*

With respect to the real *title* of the manuscript, Aubrey and Wood are supposed to have been in error; because they call it *Idea Theologiæ*, and it now is, *De Doctrina Christiana ex sacris duntaxat libris petita disquisitionum libri duo posthumi*. Yet no doubt the title was at first, as Wood and Aubrey have given it. The *Idea* was adopted in conformity to example; from Milton having seen, for instance, what was addressed to his friend Hartlib in 1651, the learned Pell's *Idea of Mathematicks*; or, at a later period, from being informed of the opposition to Hobbes in Dr. Templer's *Idea Theologiæ Leviathanis*. An *Idea Eloquentiæ* also appeared about this time. The present title was probably chosen, after his death, by those into whose

hands the manuscript had passed, and whose endeavour was to make it publick.

These are circumstances which illustrate the *external evidence* of the treatise as the work of Milton. We shall soon observe what would be conclusive as to this position, if such testimony had been wanting, I mean *internal evidence*.

The entrance of the treatise exhibits the great poet explaining his reason for compiling it. "I deemed it safest and most advisable to compile for myself," he says, "by my own labour and study, some original treatise, which should be always at hand, *derived solely from the Word of God itself*." Wood appears to have been informed of this determination, as he mentions the poet's "*framing a Body of Divinity out of the Bible*." Perhaps not satisfied altogether with the systems of theology which he was wont to consult, Milton, so early as when he wrote his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, could not forbear, in his remarks upon "custom and prejudice," sarcastically to describe "youth run ahead into *the easy creek of a system or a medulla*." And afterwards, in his Considerations how to remove hirelings out of the Church, he mentions, I had almost said in reference to his

* Preface to the Treatise. I cite at present the *translation* of the work by Dr. Sumner for the benefit of every reader. And I may assure those, who understand not Latin, that the translation is exact and faithful.

“ design of the very work before us, “ the helps which we enjoy to make more easy the attainment of Christian Religion by the meanest; namely, the entire Scripture translated into English with plenty of notes; *and somewhere or other, I trust, may be found some BODY OF DIVINITY, as they call it, without school-terms and metaphysical notions, which have obscured rather than explained our religion, and made it seem difficult without cause.*” Hence his frequent appeals to the Scriptures only; as in his reference to “^b the Protestant religion reforming herself *rightly by the Scriptures;*” and to “^c the deciding our controversies *only by the Scriptures.*” Hence his reminding the Parliament of their profession “^d to assert *only the true Protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures;*” and his own assertion, “ that we can have no other ground in matters of religion *but only from the Scriptures.*” And yet I am persuaded, that this is the very “^e tractate,” which, in the earlier part of his life, he had begun “ to collect from the ablest divines, *Amesius, Wollebius,*” and *others*, as the “^f *et cetera* of his nephew, who tells us of the compilation, implies; and which, from time

^a Dr. Sumner is of the same opinion.

^b Reason of Church Gov. B. ii.

^c Animadv. on the Remonstrant's Defence.

^d Treatise of Civ. Power in Eccl. Causes.

^e See the whole passage, describing this tractate, cited from Phillips, p. 312.

^f Phillips adds to the *et cetera* the notice of resuming the subject of this treatise, but never refers to it again.

to time, had been augmented, revised, and corrected. For in it indeed there are whole sentences " " sometimes almost identically the same as in Wollebius," certain coincidences also with Ames, and some direct citations from other theological writers. But this is not a solitary instance of his practice ^b opposed to his theory.

The work before us consists of two books, entitled *Of the Knowledge of God*, and *Of the Service of God*. In this distinction we immediately trace the hand and heart of Milton. " ^c It will require no great labour of exposition," he has before told us, " to unfold what is meant by matters of religion ; being as soon apprehended, as defined, *such things as belong chiefly to THE KNOWLEDGE and SERVICE OF GOD.*" The first book is divided into thirty-three chapters. 1. Of the Christian doctrine, and the number of its divisions. 2. Of God. 3. Of the Divine decrees. 4. Of predestination. 5. Of the Son of God. 6. Of the Holy Spirit. 7. Of the Creation. 8. Of the Providence of God, or of his general government of the universe. 9. Of the special government of angels. 10. Of the special government of man before the Fall, including the institutions of the Sabbath, and of Marriage. 11. Of the fall of our first parents, and of sin. 12. Of the punishment of sin. 13. Of the death of the body. 14. Of man's

^a Dr. Sumner's Transl. p. 602.

^b See what is stated in p. 308.

^c Treatise of Civ. Power in Eccl. Causes.

restoration, and of Christ as Redeemer. 15. Of the functions of the Mediator, and of his threefold office. 16. Of the ministry of redemption. 17. Of man's renovation, including his calling. 18. Of regeneration. 19. Of repentance. 20. Of saving faith. 21. Of being planted in Christ, and its effects. 22. Of justification. 23. Of adoption. 24. Of union and fellowship with Christ and his members, wherein is considered the mystical or invisible Church. 25. Of imperfect glorification, wherein are considered the doctrines of assurance and final perseverance. 26. Of the manifestation of the Covenant of Grace, including the Law of God. 27. Of the Gospel, and of Christian liberty. 28. Of the external sealing of the Covenant of Grace. 29. Of the visible Church. 30. Of the Holy Scriptures. 31. Of particular Churches. 32. Of Church discipline. 33. Of perfect glorification, including the second Advent of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the general conflagration.

Into seventeen chapters only the second book is divided. 1. Of good works. 2. Of the proximate causes of good works. 3. Of the virtues belonging to the service of God. 4. Of external service. 5. Of oaths and the lot. 6. Of zeal. 7. Of the time for divine worship, wherein are considered the Sabbath, Lord's Day, and Festivals. 8. Of our duties towards man, and the general virtues belonging thereto. 9. Of the first class of special virtues connected with the duty of man towards himself. 10.

Of the second class of virtues connected with the duty of man towards himself. 11. Of the duties of man towards his neighbour, and the virtues comprehended under those duties. 12. Of the special virtues or duties which regard our neighbour. 13. The second class of special duties towards our neighbour continued. 15. Of the reciprocal duties of man towards his neighbour, and specially of private duties. 16. Of the remaining class of private duties. 17. Of publick duties towards our neighbour.

Such are the parts of this treatise of divinity; wherein are some positions, which he who wrote the *Paradise Lost* could not have been expected to advance. For in these he is to his former orthodoxy often opposed; and in these he appears, no longer in the questionable shape which bishop Newton has described, but evidently attached to the Arian scheme. "Some have inclined to believe," that learned biographer has said, "that Milton was an Arian; but there are more express passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it." This hesitation would have been dispersed by a glance upon that part of the treatise, which affects to describe *The Son of God*. Nor could I have formerly stated, if to me also the pages of this volume had been unfolded, that from heretical peculiarity of opinion he was free. The dormant suspicion of schism was unawakened, while I dwelt upon the magick of his invention; and, like others, I was all

ear only to his sweet and solemn-breathing strains. It was left to a minute inspection of his works for the discovery of his aberration, as in the present treatise, from orthodoxy ; and of accordance in them with the latter both in sentiments and expressions. This has been done by Dr. Sumner, to whose care his Majesty graciously confided the recent edition and translation of the manuscript. And in the judicious observations which accompany his labour throughout, as well as in the discreet and elegant introduction to it, all the gratification which taste and learning can give will be found. To his research I am indebted for most of the passages, which presently will be adduced from the treatise, as identifying the pen of Milton ; and by communications with him upon the present subject I have been assisted and honoured.

This avowal of his religious sentiments certainly exhibits the great poet at variance not only with the doctrine of the Church of England, but at variance with the tenets of sects to which he had yielded assent, and at variance with himself. It is indeed the production of a fervent mind, sometimes displaying the singularity of self-confidence, and sometimes yielding tribute to the wayward opinions of others. Hence the occurrence, not unfrequently, of partial interpretation and of unsound criticism. Of recondite or extensive learning, of novel disquisition, or of ingenious adaptation, the treatise is rather barren. We sometimes meet with subtleties indeed, not ex-

pected however in a work professing to be derived from the Scriptures only; and with scholastick or metaphysical distinctions; disclaimed however in the very entrance of it. “^k Considering the language employed in parts of this treatise,” Dr. Sumner observes, “Milton more frequently censures the metaphysical divinity than might have been expected. *His practice at least, in this as well as in some other points, is not very consistent with his theory.* He speaks, however, *in other works*, in the same slighting manner of the sophistry of the schools.” He speaks *in those* too, I must add, with apparent contempt of “^l bodies and marrows of divinity;” and yet here has adopted the very form and pressure of them. But what here must be admired is the tone of moderation throughout; the absence of polemical fierceness and personal hostility. With all his reverence for the sacred writings, with all the religious spirit of his earlier days, and with all his former zeal in the pursuit of truth, Milton now also stands before us. He presents himself as an able expositor of many moral duties too; and, for the most part, elegantly “^m teaches over the whole book of sanctity and virtue.” For the rich expression and splendid imagery indeed, which perpetually meet us in his other works, we here look in vain. But his object, like that of a contemporary opponent to the false philosophy of

^k Transl. p. 602.

^l Consider. for removing Hirelings out of the Church. See also other passages to this effect, cited in p. 302.

^m See his Reason of Church Government, before cited, p. 53.

the time, was plainness and perspicuity: “ⁿ That which I chiefly aimed at in my expressions was significancy and clearness, that my reader might see that I was willing to make him judge of the strength of my arguments, and would not put him to the trouble of divining in what it lay, nor inveigle him by ornaments of speech to think it greater than it was.” Such an avowal Milton would have read with pleasure, delivered as it is by a writer who abundantly exposes the sophistry of Hobbes in particular, (whose ° tenets Milton also hated,) and who “^p willingly submits his fallible reason to the sure informations afforded by celestial light.” He would have given the hand of fellowship also to this author, when he says, “ I admit no man’s opinions in the whole lump, and have not scrupled on occasion to own dissents from the generality of learned men, whether philosophers or divines ; and when I choose to travel in the beaten road, it is not because I find it is the road, but because I judge it is the way.” With feelings perhaps of this kind Milton commenced his wanderings from Puritanism to Calvinism, from Calvinism to an esteem for Arminius, and finally from an accordance with Independents and Anabaptists to a dereliction of every denomination of Protestants ; changes, which

ⁿ Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion. By T. E. a Layman. Lond. 1675. Pref. p. xi. written long before, as the preface states.

° “ Milton’s widowe assures me, that Mr. Hobbes was not one of his acquaintance, that her husband did not like him at all :—their interests and tenets were diametrically opposite.” Aubrey.

^p Pref. to the Considerations, ut supr. p. xv.

were first detailed by Toland; and which, with the suspicion of his Arianism, have not escaped the sarcastick notice of a modern French writer. “^a Il ne faut pas être surpris des principes erronés de ce fougueux republicain en matière de religion, *puisque’ il fut de toutes les sectes, et qu’ il finit par n’être d’aucune.* Dans ses poèmes epiques, il parle de Jesus Christ *en véritable Arien.*”

It is not improbable, that from the perusal either of Toland’s narrative, or of the *Remarks* upon that biography which immediately followed it, some *conjectured*, as Richardson relates it in 1734, or were *inclined to believe*, as bishop Newton expresses it in 1749, that Milton was an Arian. “^c It was Toland’s business,” the author of the *Remarks* observes, “to represent Milton as a favourer of the Socinians and Deists, who, not contented with revelation, form to themselves notions of a Deity according to their own corrupt reason.—”^s Another reason Toland had to promote the publishing Mr. Milton’s Life, was, his pleading for liberty to Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arians, Socinians, and Arminians; and his disapproving the terms of Trinity, Triunity, Coessentiality,” &c. The author afterwards for himself declares, “^t As to a liberty for Arians and Socinians, which he presses so much, I must beg leave to dissent from Mr. Milton in that point.—”^u As to the

^a Peignot, Dict. des Livres condamnés au feu. 1806. vol. i. p. 320.

^c Rem. p. 6.

^s P. 29.

^t P. 35.

^u P. 37.

reviver of the Arian and founder of the Socinian heresy, Faustus Socinus, he was so far from being either a learned or good man, as Toland would suggest from Mr. Milton, that he never followed any regular study," &c. At last, however, the writer seems to consider any heterodox partiality in the poet as an assumption of the biographer, rather than as a fact. " * You see what sort of men they are, whom Toland hath raised Mr. Milton from the grave to *patronize and to plead for*. This is a new Socinian invention to make the name of so great a man subservient to their cause." Toland indeed says, that he " † remembers not ever to have met with any person who spoke with such disinterestedness and impartiality of our various sects in religion," as Milton has spoken in his published *Treatise of True Religion*, " except Thomas Firmin." And if to the eye of Toland the present system of divinity had been presented, he would have selected from it other coincidences of opinion in the poet and that benevolent person, who also had strayed from sect to sect, was first a Calvinist, next an Arminian, and adopted lastly the principles of the Unitarians.

The preceding supposition which Richardson and Newton have recorded, and others have believed, appears to be confirmed by the present work; which was probably not completed before his latest years, when perhaps he thought only of arranging the ex-

* Rem. p. 75.

† Life of Milton.

tracts he had long been accustomed to make both “^a from the shorter systems of divines, and from more copious theological treatises;” a plan in which he had diligently persevered, he tells us, *for several years*. Hence we find him condescending to the humble task of imitation in distributing the subject of this work, in arranging the chapters, in proposing arguments, and in constructing sentences; to which purposes the compilations of divinity, by Wollebius and Ames, already noticed, were subservient. But Ames and Wollebius were not antitrinitarian writers. Nor had Milton himself approached the confines of Arianism, when to them he first resorted for theological information. For his elder nephew tells us, that when in 1640 his uncle instructed him and his brother, a portion of their exercise on Sundays was “the writing *from his own dictation some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest divines who had written of that subject, Amesius, Wollebius, &c. viz. A PERFECT SYSTEM OF DIVINITY; of which more hereafter.*” It is greatly to be lamented, that Phillips mentions this system or compilation no more. We ask, however, what were then when he began his collections, and what had been before, the opinions of Milton respecting the Holy Trinity? The theme of his poetry in 1629, and of his devotion in 1641, will best inform us.

^a The Treatise itself, Dr. Sumner’s Transl. pp. 2, 3, 4. And see the obligations to Ames and Wollebius, stated by Dr. Sumner, Transl. p. 602.

" That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
 " And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,
 " Wherewith He wont at Heaven's high council-table
 " To sit *the midst of Trinal Unity*,
 " He laid aside."

Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.

" Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory
 unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next,
 Thee I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that
 lost remnant, whose nature Thou didst assume, in-
 effable and everlasting Love! And Thou, the third
 subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the
 joy and solace of created things! *One Tripersonal
 Godhead!* look upon this thy poor and almost spent
 and expiring Church."

Of Reformation in England, B. 2.

In this latter publication too, he speaks with con-
 tempt of the very heterodoxy, into which we see him
 afterwards fallen. "Constantius," he says, "proved
a flat Arian, and Julian an apostate." And in his
Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence,
 published in the same year, he notices an ancient
 caution against "the Arians *infecting* people by
 their hymns and forms of prayer;" in accordance
 with his own remark upon them, in the preceding
 treatise of Reformation, as being "*no true friends
 of Christ.*" But abundant examples there are,
 * throughout his printed works, of orthodoxy pro-

* Yet on this subject Dr. Sumner has noticed real and im-

fessed by Milton as to the eternal divinity of the Son of God, and the essential unity of the three divine persons in the Godhead.

Whence, then, the desertion of this orthodoxy in the present compilation? May we not think, that, in his speculations upon the theology of the times, he had treasured up the unsound positions of writers, who then, more especially in the Dutch and German schools of divinity, proclaimed to the world their dissent from the doctrine of the Trinity? For when he says, “^b For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone; I follow no other heresy or sect; I had not even read any of the works of hereticks, so called, when *the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox*, and their incautious handling of Scripture, *first taught me to agree with their opponents* whenever those opponents agreed with Scripture;” when we attend to this confession, I say, who sees not in it some explanation as it were of the revolted spirit, which breathes through so many of his pages? To “the Reformed divines of *other countries*” he ^c elsewhere repeatedly appeals in argument; and, in the present treatise, often are his

portant contradictions in the language of Milton, even in *Paradise Lost*. See B. iii. 62—64, 138—140, 305—307, 350, 384—415, B. v. 603—605, 719, 720, B. vi. 676—884, B. x. 63—67, 85, 86, 225, 226. Transl. p. xxxiv.

^b Treatise, Transl. p. 7.

^c Considerations for removing Hirelings out of the Church, &c. And see his own statement, just cited from the treatise, p. 312.

sentiments and expressions in unison with those of Curcellæus, as well as with those of Wollebius, and of others. Perhaps he may be considered as illustrating his own remark in the *Areopagitica*: "That infection, which is from books of controversy in religion, *is more dangerous to the learned* than to the ignorant: It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct Arminius *was perverted* merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute."

Of the earliest leaning towards "*the opponents of the orthodox*," *Paradise Lost* perhaps suggests the inference. For if Milton's views respecting *the Supreme Divinity of our Lord* had been wholly different from what appears in the treatise, he would surely have availed himself of this sublime topick in his hymn of the angels in the presence of God the Father; nor would he have omitted the theme, when Michael discloses to Adam the doctrine of the atonement. From *Paradise Regained*, his next poetical publication; and from his *Art of Logick*, which soon followed that poem; we may be also led to argue, that in them, as in his system of theology, he had departed from his former orthodoxy. But certainly *Paradise Lost*, according to Richardson, first occasioned the suspicion of his heresy in our own country. And in Italy it was, upon this ground, that in 1758 the *Paradise Lost* is found as a book proscribed in the *Index librorum prohibitorum Benedicti XIV. Pont. Max. jussu recognitus, &c.*

then published : the work being adjudged, an Italian commentator says, to be “^d infetta da solenni eresie, quali sono *nel libro terzo* il fingere che l’umanità di Cristo Signore abbia richiesto la di lui separazione dal Padre ; che Gesù Cristo sia non figlio naturale dell’ Eterno, ma adottivo ; non a lui eguale, ma simile :”—and again, what may perhaps be thought also to apply to another part of the treatise ; “*nel decimo* lo spargere dubbii e questioni sull’ immortalità dell’ anima.”

Yet in this system Milton also states clearly, and defends powerfully, other doctrinal points, to which the orthodox yield their full assent. But this and some other distinctive portions of the treatise must be illustrated by parallels from the works which have long been known. From the Latin publications of Milton much indeed might be drawn, which hitherto has been unpublished, to this purpose. And in this belief I have been confirmed by the friendly transmission from Dr. Sumner of many passages, not accompanying his * translation of the treatise, in agreement with my own examination ; an examination to which I was led, by reason of an opinion which I knew to exist, that the judgement of the poet was against the use of Latin on subjects purely religious. Yet he had before acknowledged,

^d Saggio di Critica sul Paradiso Perduto, &c. Vita di Milton, Scritta da Alessandro Pepoli, p. 68.

* But his illustrations of this kind are very numerous. See also his Introduct. to the Treatise, p. xviii.

that ^f *an address to all Christian magistrates ought to have been in Latin*; and an address now, ^s *to all the Churches of Christ*, we may therefore believe him determined to present in the ^h *common language of Christendom*. When he had written too his theological notions of divorce, he ⁱ wished that he had not written them in *the vernacular tongue*, as it exposed him, he says, to the perusal of vulgar readers, who knew not their own blessings and insulted the misfortunes of others. And to this topick he again referred, in a letter to one of his correspondents, ^k observing that as to his book upon divorce being translated into Dutch, he would have preferred *a Latin version of it*; for, he adds, I know how the vulgar receive opinions, which are not agreeable to vulgar prejudice.

1. The treatise opens with this ingenuous confession, in the translation by Dr. Sumner: "It was a great solace to me to have compiled, by God's assistance, a precious aid for my faith; or rather *to have laid up for myself a treasure which would be a provision for my future life*." Pref. p. 4. So, in his *Reason of Church Government*: "I

^f In his address to the Parliament, prefixed to his Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.

^s Joannes Miltonus Anglus Universis Christi Ecclesiis, &c. Pref. to the Theological Treatise.

^h As he expresses himself in the Treatise of Civil Power.

ⁱ In his *Defensio Secunda*.

^k Epist. Fam. Leoni ab Aizema, dat. Feb. 5, 1654.

have determined *to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age*, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech," &c. Again, in the *Preface*: "It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the Christian religion is the liberty not only of *winnowing and sifting every doctrine*, but also of thinking and even writing respecting it." So, in his *Reformation of England*: "That doctrine of the Gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them *winnowed and sifted* from the chaff of overdated ceremonies."

2. "Our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception of God, as shall correspond with his own delineation and representation of Himself in the sacred writings. For granting that, both in the literal and figurative descriptions of God, He is exhibited as He really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions; yet we ought to entertain such a conception of Him, as He, in condescending to accommodate Himself to our capacities, has shewn that He desires we should conceive. For it is on this very account that He has lowered himself to our level, lest in our flights above the reach of human understanding, and beyond the written word of Scripture, we should be tempted to indulge in vague cogitations and subtleties." B. i. ch. 2. *Of God*. Thus in *Paradise Lost*, B. viii. 167.

"Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid ;
 "Leave them to God above : Him serve, and fear !
 ——— "Heaven is for thee too high
 "To know what passes there : Be lowly wise :
 "Think only what concerns thee, and thy being ;
 "Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
 "Live, in what state, condition, or degree."

In the same chapter *of God*, it is said, "that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction ;" as in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 798.

"Can He make deathless death ? That were to make
 "Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 "Impossible is held ; as argument
 "Of weakness, not of power : "

the doctrine of the schoolmen, according to bishop Newton, which Dr. Sumner traces in Curcellæus, and which Milton himself supports by the texts of 2 *Tim.* ii. 13, *Tit.* i. 2, and *Heb.* vi. 18.

3. "It is to be understood that God decreed nothing absolutely, which He left in the power of free agents ; a doctrine which is shewn by the whole canon of Scripture." B. i. ch. 3. *Of the Divine Decrees.* Dr. Sumner here observes, that the lines in the third book of *Par. Lost*, beginning at ver. 95, and ending with ver. 130, contain the sum of the doctrine laid down by Milton in this and the following chapter ; and that the coincidences of expression are not unfrequently as striking as the similarity of reasoning. In the same chapter : "God

had determined from all eternity, that man should so far be a free agent, that it remained with himself to decide whether he would stand or fall." So in *Par. Lost*, B. v. 233.

————— " Such discourse bring on,
 " As may advise him of his happy state,
 " Happiness in his power left free to will,
 " Left to his own free will, his will though free,
 " Yet mutable ; whence warn him to beware
 " He swerve not, too secure."

Yet one more extract from this chapter : " God of his wisdom determined to create men and angels reasonable beings, and therefore free agents." And thus in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 351.

—— " God left free the will ; for what obeys
 " Reason, is free ; and reason He made right ;
 " But bid her well be ware, and still erect."

4. " Without searching deeper into this subject, let us be contented with only knowing, that God, out of his infinite mercy and grace in Christ, has predestinated to salvation all who should believe." B. i. ch. 4. *Of Predestination*. Thus in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 424.

" Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,
 " His death for man, as many as offer'd life
 " Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
 " By faith not void of works."

5. " This point appears certain, notwithstanding the arguments of some of the moderns to the con-

trary, that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the *logos* or word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth." B. i. ch. 5. *Of the Son of God*. So in the hymn of the angels, *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 383.

" Thee next they sang of all creation first,
 " Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 " In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
 " Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
 " Whom else no creature can behold ; on thee
 " Impress'd the effulgence of his glory abides,
 " Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.
 " He Heaven of Heavens, and all the Powers therein,
 " By thee created."

Here it may be observed, that in his exposition of what is said in the treatise Milton cites *Col.* i. 15, and *Rev.* iii. 14 ; passages, which bishop Newton applied to the illustration of the poetry, without any suspicion of their being employed in the cause of heterodoxy ; and from which, as from the lines indebted to them, no succeeding commentator has drawn the Arian interpretation. In truth the passage declares, what the context to the words of St. Paul declare, (*Col.* i. 16, 17,) that the Son of God is the Creator of all things, (which indeed the poet repeats, *Par. Lost*, B. v. 835,) that he was "¹ before all creatures, and made all creatures, which is enough," Dr. Waterland observes, "to silence the Arians." But

¹ Sermons on the Divinity of our Lord Christ, Sermon. II.

the summary of Milton's opinions, collected by the learned translator from the present chapter, distinctly shows, that they were *now* " ^m in reality nearly Arian, ascribing to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father." What orthodox member of the Church of England will not with Dr. Sumner regret, that the " ⁿ mighty mind of Milton in its conscientious, though mistaken, search after truth, had not an opportunity of examining those masterly refutations of the Arian scheme, for which Christianity is indebted to the labours of bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland; more especially, I may add, as the labours of the former appeared so near his own time, and were successfully directed against the very persons by whose unsound theology I have ^o supposed him misled. For when the *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ* of Bull was finished, which was in 1680; " ^p about that time," the pious biographer of the prelate tells us, "*and for some years before*, there were several Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland, and dispersed in England, written by some learned men that were fled thither out of Poland and Prussia." In the interval between the production of his two epick poems, he drank largely perhaps from these turbid streams. And it is from passages in

^m Introduct. p. xxxiv.

ⁿ Ibid. p. xxxv.

^o See before, p. 314.

^p Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 280.

Paradise Regained that criticism first culled at least the language of Arius or Socinus ; which Mr. Calton however considers as adopted to surprise the angels, in their “ beholding the triumphs of the *Man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind, with the glorious discovery of the *God*, enshrined in fleshy tabernacle and human form ;” while Dr. Warton, whose remark I long since presented to the publick, observes, “ that there is not a word here said of the Son of God, (*Par. Reg.* B. i. 163—167,) but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian would allow ; and that the same observation may be made on some other remarkable passages of the poem.” In the *Art of Logick*, which was published in the year after this poem, there is a very curious coincidence too with a remark in the present chapter as applied to a denial of the co-essentiality of the Father and the Son, “^a which could scarcely have been expected to be found,” Dr. Sumner says, in a treatise on Logick. “ He *of whom are all things* is clearly distinguished from him *by whom are all things* ; and if a difference of causation prove a difference of essence, he is distinguished also in essence. Besides, since a numerical difference originates in difference of essence, those who are two numerically, must be also two essentially.” Thus the treatise of religion ; and thus the art of logick : “ Numerus, ut rectè Scaliger, est affectio essentiam consequens. Quæ igitur numero, essentia quoque differunt ; et nequaquam numero, nisi essen-

^a Transl. p. 92.

tia, differrent :” that is, Things which differ in number, differ also in essence ; and they would by no means differ in number, unless in essence. And then he adds, as if in remembrance of the theology he was studying, “ *Evigilent hic theologi :*” Let theologians here be on their guard. I will repay the caution which he gives with one admirable example of attention in this respect, out of many that might be cited; by a very vigilant and learned divine of the English Church ; especially as it silences the position which has been cited from the treatise. “ ‘ One objection to the Arian scheme is, that it can never be reconciled with the *unity* of the divine nature, but infallibly infers a *plurality of Gods*. This may very briefly be evinced by asking this plain question : Hath this person, the Son, and whom you entitle God, the *same individual essential properties* with God the Father, as eternity, omnipresence, and the like ; or has he *different and distinct essential properties* from those of the Father ? The *former* no Arian can say, consistently with his own scheme ; for if the Son be allowed to have the very same essential properties with his Father, he must then be *consubstantial* with him, and thus the Arian will become a Catholick : And to assert the *latter*, that their *essential properties* are *different*, is evidently to assign them two *distinct essences*, and therefore

‘ Sermon upon the several heterodox hypotheses concerning both the persons and the attributes of the Godhead, &c. by W. Stephens, M.A. Vicar of St. Andrew, Plymouth. Oxford, 1725, p. 11.

they must be *two different Gods*. Different *personal* properties indeed do *only* infer a difference of *persons*; and upon *this* the Catholick scheme is founded, which supposes a *difference of persons*, and yet an *unity of essence*.—^s We assert three distinct persons, in order to avoid a *nominal* Trinity only; and we maintain *one numerical essence* undivided in these persons, that we may not carry the least appearance of tritheism. We hold the divine essence to be one *indivisible* essence; we contend that this essence was in an ineffable manner communicated to the Son and Holy Ghost from all eternity; in which communication, as there was no division or separation of the nature, so that unity is still preserved, and the distinction of persons withal unquestionable. We deny that these persons are co-ordinate, lest we fall into polytheism; yet the subordination which we maintain is not of nature, but merely of persons, lest we run into Arianism. Our scheme will stand clear from the charge of Sabellianism, till it can be shewn that three *subsistences*, each of which has *distinct personal properties*, are but a Trinity of *names* and *mere modes*. We shall also stand as clear from the imputation of tritheism, till our adversaries can demonstrate, what surely they never will pretend to do, that *distinct personal properties* must as necessarily *divide* and *multiply* the divine essence, as they do the human. The little insight, which we have into the *manner* of the sub-

^s Ibid. p. 34.

sistence of the divine nature, will for ever be a bar to such a demonstration."—For the introduction of these pertinent sentences, no apology, I trust, is requisite. The reader of the treatise will find them applicable also to other parts of it: for the eternity of the Holy Spirit, and the essential unity of the three Divine Persons, are denied in it.

6. The next parallels are of no controversial bearing, but illustrative merely of Milton's phraseology. "They are constantly shifting the form of their reasoning, *Vertumnus-like*." B. i. ch. 5. *Of the Son of God*. So, in his *Tetrachordon*: "Let him try which way he can wind in his *Vertumnian* distinctions and evasions." And in his *Pro Pop. Angl. Def.* "Vertit rationes, et annon rex cum optimatibus plus potestatis habeat quærit; iterum nego, *Vertumne*," &c.

7. The ministry of angels is a favourite subject with Milton; and he devotes a chapter to it in this treatise. Numerous are the parallels in it with his poetry which might be given. The knowledge which he assigns to the evil angels is too remarkable to be omitted: "Their knowledge is great, but such as tends rather to aggravate than diminish their misery; so that they utterly despair of their salvation." B. i. ch. 9. *Of the Special Government of Angels*. Herein are compressed the varied descriptions of their punishment in *Paradise Lost*:

_____ “ The thought
 “ Both of lost happiness, and lasting pain,
 “ Torments him.” B. i. 54.

_____ “ Hope never comes
 “ That comes to all.” B. i. 66.

_____ “ We are decreed,
 “ Reserv’d, and destin’d to eternal woe;
 “ Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
 “ What can we suffer worse?” B. ii. 160.

_____ “ Me miserable ! which way shall I fly
 “ Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?” B. iv. 73.

8. The chapter, which follows that upon the government of angels, treats of *Divorce* ; in which the opinions are so entirely in accordance with his *Doctrine and Discipline* of the subject, with his *Tetrachordon*, and his *Colasterion*, as to need no extract from either. But it is curious to observe, that in this chapter the only direct reference to himself throughout the treatise occurs. He cites Selden to his point, and adds, “ as I have myself shewn in another treatise from several texts of Scripture ;” which Dr. Sumner, to whom we owe this observation, has discovered to be his *Tetrachordon*. But from his defence of this doctrine, which was denounced from the [†] pulpit and ridiculed by the wits, he here proceeds to advocate the lawfulness of polygamy. Whether from the fanaticks of his own country, and of his earlier days, who maintained

[†] See what is said upon this subject in the preceding pages, p. 61, seq.

“ *that it is lawful to have many wives,*” and with whom indeed he is coupled in the ^a accusatory sermon which brought him before the lords for his Treatise of Divorce; whether from these, or from the insidious disputants of other lands, he imbibed a tenet, which we should rather have expected to find him overwhelming with indignant refutation; lamentable it certainly is, that he contends for what had been permitted in the patriarchal times, under particular circumstances, as an universal law; contends indeed for what, if admitted, would uncivilize Christian society, by dissolving the legitimate ties of wedded love, and weakening all the charities of domestick life. But the low estimation, in which he held the weaker sex in general, perhaps occasioned him to disregard that thus he was also pleading for what he calls “^y the despotick power of man over his female in due awe;” in other words, for what would serve to harden men into tyrants. It is remarkable that in the year 1674, at the close of which Milton died, this revolting subject had been obtruded upon the world, with the most mischievous profusion, by a foreign writer. Lyser, the champion as he has been called of polygamy, had visited England and other parts of Europe in order to collect whatever might assist his purpose in forming the detestable volume, entitled *Polygamia Triumphatrix*; and of

^a Pagitt’s Description of Hereticks and Sectaries, sprung up in these latter times, 1654, p. 24.

^x By Mr. Herb. Palmer. See before, p. 64.

^y Samson Agonist. ver. 1054.

Selden's learning he has largely availed himself, when he finds the subject of divorce in any way subservient to the offensive doctrine which he maintains. To Milton there is no allusion. The *Practical Catechism* of Hammond, I should add, which was published in the year in which the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* first appeared, and again in 1646, might have rectified the notions of Milton respecting both divorce and polygamy. But eminently learned and pious as he knew Hammond to be, he would disdain to be taught by him who had proclaimed, as if in personal allusion, “*It is not the husband's dislikes which can excuse him for putting away his wife.*”

8. “The sin which is common to all men is that which our first parents, and in them all their posterity, committed; when, casting off their obedience to God, they tasted the fruit of the forbidden tree.” B. i. ch. 11. *Of the Fall of our first Parents, and of Sin.* Thus in *Par. Lost*.

“His crime makes guilty all his sons.” B. iii. 290.

————— “In me all

“Posterity stands curs'd; fair patrimony

“That I must leave you, sons.” B. xi. 317.

9. “Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever, together with every thing which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as

* Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 46.

comprehended ; for mere bodily death, as it is called, did not follow the sin of Adam on the self-same day, as God had threatened." B. i. ch. 12. *Of the punishment of Sin.* So, in *Par. Lost*.

—————" The fruit
 " Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
 " Brought death into the world, and *all our woe*." B. i. l.
 —————" My sole command
 " Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die,
 " *From that day mortal*." B. viii. 329.

10. Speaking of Christ in his human nature, Milton says, " he might ' increase in wisdom,' *Luke* ii. 52, by means of the understanding which he previously possessed, and might ' know all things,' *John* xxi. 17, namely, through the teaching of the Father, as he himself acknowledged." B. i. ch. 14. *Of Man's restoration, and of Christ as Redeemer.* Thus in the soliloquy of our Lord in *Par. Regained*, B. i. 290.

—————" Now by some strong motion I am led
 " Into the wilderness, to what intent
 " I know not yet, perhaps I need not know ;
 " For what concerns my knowledge God reveals."

The whole soliloquy, Mr. Calton long since observed on the passage, is formed upon an opinion which has authorities enough to give it credit, and which accordingly he cites from Beza, Gerhard, Grotius, and our own Tillotson and Whitby.

11. The mediatorial office of Christ is that

whereby, at the special appointment of God the Father, he voluntarily performed, and continues to perform, on behalf of man, whatever is requisite for obtaining reconciliation with God, and eternal salvation."

B. i. ch. 15. *Of the functions of the Mediator, and of his threefold office.* As in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 164.

—————" Men hereafter may discern
 " From what consummate virtue I have chose
 " This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 " To earn salvation for the sons of men."

Again: " The name and office of mediator is in a certain sense ascribed to Moses, as a type of Christ."

Ibid. So in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 239.

—————" To God is no access
 " Without mediator, whose high office now
 " Moses in figure bears, to introduce
 " One greater."————

12. " The exaltation of Christ is that by which, having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant, he was exalted by God the Father to a state of immortality and of the highest glory, partly by his own merits, partly by the gift of the Father, for the benefit of mankind; wherefore he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God." B. i. ch. 16.
Of the Ministry of Redemption. Thus in *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 317.

—————" All power
 " I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
 " Thy merits."————

Again: "As Christ emptied himself in both his natures, so both participate in his exaltation; his Godhead, by its restoration and manifestation; his manhood, by an accession of glory." Ibid. So in *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 313.

"Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 "With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
 "Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
 "Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 "Anointed universal King."——

Again, "The satisfaction of Christ is the complete reparation made by him, in his twofold capacity of God and Man, by the fulfilment of the law and payment of the required price for all mankind." Ibid. So in *Par. Lost*.

"Die he or justice must; unless for him
 "Some other able, and as willing, pay
 "The rigid satisfaction, death for death." B. iii. 209.

—— "So man, as is most just,
 "Shall satisfy for man." B. iii. 294.

—— "To the cross he nails thy enemies,
 "The law that is against thee, and the sins
 "Of all mankind, with him there crucified,
 "Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
 "In this his satisfaction." B. xii. 415.

13. "Although it is the duty of believers to join themselves, if possible, to a church duly constituted, *Heb. x. 25*, yet such as cannot do this conveniently, or with full satisfaction of conscience, are not to be considered as excluded from the blessing bestowed

by God on the churches." B. i. ch. 29. *Of the Visible Church.* This is an important passage, Dr. Sumner says, "because it discloses Milton's real views upon a point, on which his opinions have been represented in a more unfavourable light than they seem to have deserved." Bishop Newton remarks, "that in the latter part of his life Milton was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, that he frequented no publick worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution which he said was a piece of popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he believed that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any communion; or whether he did not look upon himself inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies; it is not easy to determine: *to his own master he standeth or falleth*: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior." It has been candidly and judiciously stated in a note upon this passage by Mr. Hawkins, to which Dr. Sumner refers, "a that

* Life of Milton, prefixed to the Poet. Works, 1824, vol. i. p. 101.

the reproach, which has been thrown upon Milton, of frequenting no place of publick worship in his latter days, should be received, as Dr. Symmons observes, with some caution. His blindness and other infirmities might be in part his excuse; and it is certain, that his daily employments were always ushered in by devout meditation and study of the Scriptures." This observation too may be strengthened by Milton's expressly admitting, in the present treatise, the duty of uniting in practice external and internal worship, (B. ii. ch. 4.) though he also says, that "with regard to the place of prayer, all are equally suitable," as in his *Par. Lost*, he makes a similar assertion, B. xi. 836; and though he ^b inaccurately says, that "the Lord's Prayer was intended rather as a model of supplication, than as a form to be repeated verbatim by the Apostles, or by Christian Churches at the present day: hence the superfluity of set forms of worship." Here indeed he presents himself before us with the prejudice of his earlier years: " ^c That which the Apostles taught hath freed us in religion from the ordinances of men, and commands that burdens be not laid upon the redeemed of Christ; though the formalist will say, what, no decency in God's worship? Certainly, readers, the worship of God, singly in itself, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving, with those *free and unimposed expressions* which from a sincere heart

^b See St. Matt. vi. 9. St. Luke xi. 2.

^c In his Apology for Smectymnuus.

unbidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can be imagined." Hence also his strange opinion : " ^d I believe that God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar." He accordingly ascribes, as Dr. Sumner remarks, extemporaneous effusions to our first parents, *Par. Lost*, B. v. 144. To his notions of the external services of religion Dr. Johnson has opposed this fine remark ; that " ^e to be of no church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpresed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example."

Again, in this chapter, *Of the Visible Church*. " Any believer is competent to act as an ordinary minister, according as convenience may require ; provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts ; these gifts constituting his mission." Thus, in his *Considerations how to remove Hirelings out of the Church*, he contends, that " the Gospel makes no difference from the magistrate himself to the meanest artificer, if God evidently favour him with spiritual gifts ;" a notion, indeed, which he has repeatedly expressed, in his zeal to proclaim any be-

^d In his *Iconoclastes*.

^e Life of Milton.

liever competent to preach the Gospel: the very endeavour of fanaticism at its height in an address to the Parliament in 1653, preserved too among the papers of Milton, and upon which it should seem that he had cast an eye of fond regard; the eighth proposition in this address being as follows: "That it may be lawful for all men, of what degree or quality soever, to teach the Word, according to their light and the Spirit's illumination, and to settle themselves in the ministry, giving good testimony of their inward call thereunto by the Spirit." Again, in the chapter before us, "Pastors and teachers are the gift of the same God who gave apostles and prophets, and not of any human institution whatever." So in the *Considerations* before cited, "It is a foul error, though too much believed among us, to think that the university makes a minister of the Gospel: what it may conduce to other arts and sciences, I dispute not now; but that which makes fit a minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence also we are bid to seek them." Here the address, with which Milton accords in the preceding extract, courteously notices both universities; and proposes, "d that two colleges in each should be set apart for such as wholly and solely apply themselves to the study of attaining and enjoying the spirit of our Lord Jesus, to which study needs few bookes, or outward human helps; so that only

^f Original Letters and Papers of State, &c. found among the political collections of Mr. John Milton, ut supr. p. 100.

^g Original Lett. ut supr. p. 99.

the Holy Scriptures would be sufficient ; but that the noble minde of man soaring beyond the letter or rule held out from the same, *therefore the workes of Jacob Behmen, and such like, who had true revelation from the true Spirit, would be great furtherance thereto !* And none but the Holy Scriptures, and such bookes aforesaid, should be used in these colleges, *all in English*. This study, rightly attained, would confute and confound the pride and vaine glory of outward human learning, strong reason, and high astral parts, and would shew men the true ground and depth of all things ; *for it would lead men into the true nothing*, in which they may behold and speculate all things to a clear satisfaction and contentedness !” Such was the meditated improvement of academical institutions, in the age of triumphant fanaticism, not quite in unison with the present ^a disesteem of them by Milton ; a circumstance too curious to be overpassed.

13. “ It is evident, that the use of the Scriptures is prohibited to no one ; but that, on the contrary, they are adapted for the daily hearing or reading of all classes and orders of men ; of princes, *Deut. xvii. 19*, of magistrates, *Josh. i. 8*, of men of all descriptions, *Deut. xxxi. 9—11*, &c.” B. i. ch. 30. *Of the Holy Scriptures*. Thus in his *Treatise of True Religion* : “ The papal antichristian church permits

^a His severity against them is more strongly shewn at the close of his *Considerations* to remove Hirelings out of the Church.

not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue; our Church on the contrary hath proposed it to all men. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof." Again, in the present chapter: "Neither can we trust implicitly in matters of this nature to the opinions of our forefathers, or of antiquity." As in his *Prelatical Episcopacy*: "If we turn this our discreet and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them, we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the Scriptures against all antiquity." Milton, in the present treatise, opposes indeed with firm but temperate observation the Church of Rome. The cause of Protestantism we know him to have always had most at heart; and in behalf of it we remember his opinion, elsewhere delivered, that the *religious* consideration of the Romish tenets may not be separated from the *political*.

14. "The subject of the first book was Faith, or the Knowledge of God. The second treats of the Service or Love of God." B. ii. ch. 1. *Of Good Works*. So in his *Treatise of Civ. Power in Eccl. Causes*: "What evangelick religion is, is told in two words, Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice."

15. "All these, with numberless other saints, are

by a more careful inquiry into the nature of truth rescued, as it were, from the new *limbus patrum* to which the vulgar definition had consigned them."

B. ii. ch. 13. *Of the second Class of special Duties towards our Neighbour.* This appears, Dr. Sumner has also observed, to be a favourite allusion with Milton.

" All these, upwhirl'd aloft,
 " Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
 " Into a *Limbo* large and broad."

Par. Lost, B. iii. 493.

" Their mysterious iniquity sought out new *Limboes* and new Hells, wherein they might include our books," &c. *Areopagitica*. " Te Deum has a smatch in it of *limbus patrum*," &c. *Apol. for Smectymnus*.

16. I shall cite one other remarkable passage from the translation on the payment of tithes, with its parallels, from the thirty-first chapter of the first book; in which also Milton appears directly to allude to the ministers of the Presbyterian establishment in his time. And the passage to be adduced is this: " What are we to think of a pastor, who for the recovery of claims thus founded, an abuse unknown to *any reformed church but our own*, enters into litigation with his own flock," &c. Dr. Sumner here introduces a parallel from Milton's printed works, in which the " English divines, and *they only*

of all Protestants,” are accused upon the subject of tithes; but note the following. “Deliver us,” Milton says to the Parliament in 1659, “*the only people of all Protestants* left still undelivered from the oppressions of a simonious decimating clergy.” *Consid. to remove Hirelings out of the Church, Dedication.*

I might select in this manner many other translated passages from the extraordinary compilation before us, some of which, as they respect conditional election, justification, assurance, and final perseverance, are judicious, and would be valued; while others, as they relate to the sabbath, the decalogue, the sacraments, and the soul, are uninviting, and would be unprofitable. But enough: for it is due to the learned reader, that I should produce from the *Latin compositions* of Milton the simple phrase or form of expression, the imagination or the thought, agreeing with passages in *the original language of the treatise*. And of such, I can truly say, the number is not small. I offer the following.

1. “*Latibula non quæro.*” *Præf.*—“*Frustrà tibi ista latibula quæsisisti.*” *Defensio Secunda.*

2. “*Nullam interim agnoscimus necessitatem aliam, nisi quam Logica, id est, ratio docet.*” *Lib. i. cap. 3.*—“*Multoque minus constitui, canones quidvis potius quàm logicos, à theologis infercire; quos illi, quasi subornatos in suum usum, tanquam è me-*

dia logica petitos, depromant de Deo, divinisque hypostasibus et sacramentis; quorum ratione, quo modo est ab ipsis informata, nihil est à Logica, adeoque ab ipsa ratione, alienius." *Artis Log. Institutio*. Here, besides the similar expression in the concluding sentence, a remarkable coincidence of opinion presents itself, as Dr. Sumner has observed to me, respecting other subjects discussed in the treatise.

3. "Joan. xvii. 3. *Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te illum solum verum Deum, et quem misisti, Jesum Christum. Et xx. 17. Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, et ad Deum meum et Deum vestrum.* Certè si Pater est Deus Christi et Deus noster, Deusque est unus, quis est Deus præter Patrem?" *Lib. i. cap. 5.*—"Exclusiva quidem est vel subjecti vel prædicati; subjecti, quæ, nota exclusiva præposita, excludit omnia subjecta alia à prædicato. Sed frustra hanc regulam ratio dictarit, si logicis quibusdam modernis, et nominatim Keckermanno, licebit, eam statim, conflato ad id ipsum canone, funditus evertere. 'Exclusiva,' inquit, 'subjecti non excludit concomitantia: ut, *solus Pater est verus Deus.* Hic,' inquit, 'non excluditur concomitans, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.' At quis non videt subornatum hunc canonem ad locum illum luculentissimum *Joan. xvii. 3.* ludificandum?—Sed, omissis theologorum paradoxis, ad præcepta logica redeamus." *Artis Log. Instit.*

4. "Quid, quòd voci Elohim nunc adjectivum,

nunc verbum plurale adjunctum, reperitur.” *Lib. i. cap. 5.* A common form of expression in the treatise: So in his *Pro Populo Ang. Def. Præf.* “*Quid, quòd ipsum etiam episcopatum suadet, atque defendit.*”

5. “Ab evangelio ad legis tempora, quod mirum est, recurrunt, qui Patrem et Filium essentia esse unum volunt; et lucem tenebris illustrare conantur.” *Lib. i. cap. 5.*—“Dum in hac luce veritatis et sapientiæ versari licebit, frustra nobis obscuriorum ætatum tenebras offundere conaris.” *Pro Pop. Ang. Def.*

6. “Deinde conjugium, relationis in genere esse: relationis autem unius terminos duntaxat esse duos: quemadmodum igitur si quis multos habeat filios, relatio paterna erga omnes illos multiplex, erga singulares una atque simplex erit; pari ratione, si quis uxores habeat plures, non minus erga singulas integra relatio erit.” *Lib. i. cap. 10.*—“Nec magis video cur in uno relato singulari non possit ad correlata multa esse multiplex relatio; dummodo relatio una numero inter bina tantummodo sit, totiesque consideretur quot sint correlata; patris nimirum, toties quot sunt filii; filii, quot sunt parentes, pater nempè et mater; fratris, quot sunt fratres et sorores; nam nisi quicquid de relatis in genere dici solet, de singulis quoque relatis verè dicatur.” *Artis Log. Institut.*

7. “Nam quod sic disputant ex *Matt. v. 32*, si vir dimissa priori uxore aliam ducens *mæchatur*,

multò magis si priori retenta aliam duxerit, id ejusmodi est profectò, ut argumentum ipsum *pro adulterio* sit protinus repudiandum." *Lib. i. cap. 10.* Dr. Sumner, in the translation of this passage observes, that the original *id ejusmodi* &c. "affords no satisfactory sense. The fondness for that play upon words which is so characteristick of Milton, and of which this treatise furnishes numerous examples, renders it not improbable that it was originally written *pro adulterino*, for which the amanuensis, employed in transcribing this part of the manuscript, substituted the more common word *adulterio*." This ingenious conjecture is strengthened by the following passage in the *Defensio Secunda*: "Si quis declamatiunculas, quas etiam ancillaris concubitus, *adulterinas* edixit et *spurias*, Morilli nothi gemellas, fide satis locupletes arbitratur esse," &c.

8. " *Deut. xvii. 17. Neque multiplicato sibi uxores*, &c. Jam verò sat scimus primam illam conjugii institutionem tam regi quam plebeio promulgatam : si unam duntaxat permittit uxorem, ne regi quidem permittit plures." *Lib. i. cap. 10.*—"Regi etiam futuro leges constituit, quibus cautum erat, ut 'ne multiplicet sibi equos, ne uxores, ne divitias;' ut intelligeret nihil sibi in alios licere, qui nihil de se statuere extra legem potuit.—Ex quo perspicuum est, regem æquè ac populum istis legibus astrictum fuisse." *Pro Pop. Ang. Def.*

9. "Cedit ergo conjugium religioni; cedit, ut

supra, juri herili." *Lib. i. cap. 10.*—"Suadet natura populo, ut tyrannorum violentiæ nonnunquam cedat, cedat temporibus." *Pro Pop. Ang. Def.*

10. "In quo bonum illum latronem cæteris sanctis fuisse aggregatum *sinè noxa* equidem existimem." *Lib. i. cap. 13.* Dr. Sumner thus translates this passage, p. 291. "It was in this state, as appears to me, that the penitent thief was united to the other saints *without punishment for sin.*" But, in his additions and corrections at the close of his volume, he says: "The passage may perhaps be more faithfully rendered, according to the literal sense of the word NOXA, *without pollution*, that is, without polluting the other saints by his company; a poetical allusion, founded on the Greek and Roman notions of pollution." The phrase is thus employed, (Dr. Sumner agrees with me in observing,) in Milton's *Supplementum* to his *Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum*: "In quasi Rheno amne *lustratus* (quo 'devectum te in Belgium' ais) et *noxa omni ablutus*," &c.

11. "Humana antem natura Christi, quamvis in summa gloria sit, tamen definito in loco est, et non ubique." *Lib. i. cap. 16.*—"Peccatur autem terminis pluribus, vel apertius vel tectius.—Sic etiam cùm non iisdem verbis aliud planè proponitur, aliud assumitur: ut, dextera Dei est ubique; humanitas Christi sedet ad dextram Dei; ergo, humanitas Christi est ubique." *Artis Log. Instit.*"

12. "Particulares verò sunt multæ, suis in se numeris omnes absolutæ." *Lib. i. cap. 31.*—"Parlamentum omnibus numeris absolutum." *Pro Pop. Ang. Def.* Again, "Cognoscite nunc, si unquam aliàs, hypocritam numeris omnibus absolutum." *Def. contra Alex. Morum.* A Ciceronian expression, Dr. Sumner remarks, which Milton has applied, in *Par. Lost*, to the Deity, B. viii. 421.

—"Through all numbers absolute, though one."

13. "Juxta illud tritum, Cui nullum est jus, ei nulla fit injuria." *Lib. ii. cap. 13.*—"Quibus nullum est jus, iis nulla fit injuria." *Artis Log. Instit.*

I must observe that the treatise closes so abruptly, as to support an opinion that it is an unfinished composition. And certainly the interlineations, corrections, and pasted slips of writing, in the manuscript, excite a belief that further revision was probably intended; revision perhaps, which would have produced still more to commend and admire than at present, and less with which to differ or remonstrate. They leave the reader also in that suspense, respecting the work, which Toland long since expressed; namely, "Milton wrote a System of Divinity, but whether intended for publick view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot determine."

¹ Life of Milton.

While these remarks have been passing through the press, the authenticity indeed of the manuscript has been questioned. I must therefore retrace my steps, and proceed with redoubled care, in order to establish it. The present amplitude of the work is one of the arguments alleged against it. And it has been assumed, that the compilation was not begun before the close of Milton's controversy with Salmasius in 1655; and that his numerous publications, from that period to the year of his death, render therefore the production also of a composition so large, and so elaborate, improbable. I repeat, what I firmly believe, that this treatise is the gradual accumulation of passages from theological writers, which he had first directed *to be copied* so early as in 1640 by his nephews, and from time to time to be continued; an employment, which, during the more active scenes of his secretaryship, he had little leisure perhaps to pursue and regulate; but to which, when he was relieved in his official duties by a substitute, he appears to have turned his attention, and to have then commenced, as Anthony Wood terms it, "*the framing his Body of Divinity*;" that is; as I interpret the expression, the arrangement of numerous materials which he had collected, and a determination to gather more through the means of his several amanuenses, in order to shew his opinions upon a subject, which indeed he had often changed, systematically; in a word, to embody his *Idea Theologiæ*: the name by which his work was known to Aubrey, and which

would probably have been the title of it, as I have said, if himself had published it.

There is such minute particularity in what Aubrey relates both of this and Milton's other manuscripts, that in aid of the present question I am induced to summon him again before the reader. He tells us, that the widow of Milton "gave all his papers, among which was his manuscript dictionary, to his nephew," Edward Phillips; and, in the margin of this information, he adds, "*In the hands of Moysees Pitt.*" He would doubtless have told us too, (observing as he was, and accurate as he is, and indeed possessed of the information he gives from the relations of the poet,) that into the hands of this person, if he had not known that it was in the hands of Mr. Skinner, the *Idea Theologiæ* had passed. Moses Pitt was a bookseller, and a well-known retailer of literary curiosities. To him perhaps Edward Phillips, who was¹ poor, consigned the papers of his uncle which had been given to him. These I conceive to have been the State-Letters, which were surreptitiously published in 1676, without the name of place, or printer, or bookseller, affixed to them; the names of the two latter also, I must add, being withheld from Phillips's translation of these letters,

* Life of Milton.

¹ Wood describes him at one time as "a good schoolmaster, but as living in poor condition;" and at another time as "living without employment;" and next as "writing and translating several things to gain a bare livelihood."

and the life of his uncle, nearly twenty years afterwards.

The intimacy of the family of Skinner with Milton was the cause, no doubt, of Mr. Daniel Skinner being examined as to this publication of the State-Letters, and of being required to tell what he knew upon the subject. His whole attestation, of which a part has been already cited, (and is endorsed by Mr. Bridgeman, Sir Joseph Williamson's secretary,) here deserves therefore great attention.

“^m That Mr. Pitts, bookseller in Paul's Church-yard, to the best of my remembrance, about 4 or 5 months agoe, told me he had mett withall and bought some of Mr. Milton's papers, and that if I would procure an agreement betwixt him and Elseviere at Amsterdam, (to whose care I had long before committed *the true perfect copy of the State-Letters to be printed,*) he would communicate them to my perusall; if I would not, he would proceed his own way, and make the best advantage of 'em: soe that, in all probability, I not procuring Elseviere's concurrence with him, *and 'tis impossible it should be otherwise,* Mr. Pitts has been the man, by whose means *this late imperfect surreptitious copy has been publisht.*

“ I attest this to be truth.

“ Oct. 18, 1676. (Signed) “ DAN. SKINNER.”

^m From the State-Paper Office.

Pitt, upon Skinner's declining any concern with the letters he had obtained, "*proceeded his own way*;" and, if the system of divinity had fallen into his hands, of that too he would have "endeavoured *to make the best advantage*." The publication of the State-Letters proves the correctness of Skinner's attestation. What Pitts had obtained, whether from Phillips or others, was not *the complete collection* of these fine examples of diplomattick composition. Some of them had perhaps been mislaid, or lost, or destroyed, after the transcript of them had been made. Of such Phillips knew nothing; for his Eng-

^a Of an acquisition, bearing the name of Milton, this book-seller would eagerly have availed himself. At this very time (in 1675) he had been publishing a little work, *De Nummis*, as the production of Selden, which had been printed before Selden was born; whether with a fraudulent intention, or from pure mistake, let Dr. Wilkins, the learned editor of Selden's works, be heard. "*Causam erroris hujus, si fallacia Pittium absolvere vellem, ne hariolando quidem assequi possum, nisi quòd rara libri copia Seldeni manum ad exemplar describendum excitaverit, et cum post obitum tractatulus hic, caractere Seldeniano expressus, in museo reperiretur, pro genuino Seldeni fœtu creditus, licentiaque episcopi Londinensis sacellani Smithii stipatus, divulgatus est.*" Vit. Seld. The preface to this little tract, signed J. H., gives the following account. "*Cum, haud ita pridem, in amici cujusdam bibliotheca excutienda D. Pittius bibliopola esset occupatus; incidit ex-insperato in hunc libellum Cl. Seldeni, non antea in lucem editum. Quem postquam avidis paulisper inspexerat oculis, rogavit mutuum, quò typis mandaret; lætusque statim accepit. Acceptum Summo Angliæ Justitiario D. Matthæo Halesio, equiti aurato, testamenti utpote Seldeniani executori, ostendit; et, facta imprimendi copia, opem à me petiit, ut ἀρόγραφον, malè cum esset descriptum, quàm, emendatissimè prodiret in publicum,*" &c.

lish version of the surreptitious Latin publication announces no addition. But in the copy of the State-Letters, made by Skinner, there are several yet unknown, as indeed I expected to find, and found immediately upon examination, which are of great interest. One of these letters, I may here observe, is addressed by the Protector "Cunctis regibus, rebuspublicis, ac civitatibus nobiscum fœderatis, *necnon aliis quibuscunque Protestantium religionem profitentibus*, ad quos hæ nostræ literæ pervenerint, S. D." Here the theologian and the secretary are in unison; for the address, prefixed to the system of divinity, is of similar form and import.

For the slight notice only, which Phillips has taken of his uncle's theology, it is not very easy to account. Perhaps, when he published the Life of Milton, as more than twenty years were passed since the death of the poet, he cared little about it, probably recollecting also that the compilation had been consigned to Skinner. Perhaps indeed he had forgotten several circumstances respecting it, as fifty years had then elapsed from the time of his first engagement in making extracts from Wollebius, Ames, and other divines. Thus he has only tantalized the reader with the expectation of a full account of "the tractate of divinity begun in 1640," and is silent after he had promised as it were to be explicit.

But in order to shew the possession of this ma-

manuscript by the family of Skinner only, and thus to argue for its authenticity, let us attend to the whole of what Daniel Elzevir says to Sir Joseph Williamson.

“ ° Monsieur,

“ Il y a environ un an que je suis convenu avec Monsieur Skinner les lettres de Milton et un autre

° From the State-Paper Office. The translation of this letter is here given. “ Sir, About a year ago I agreed with Mr. Skinner, to print Milton’s letters and another treatise on Theology ; but having received the manuscripts, and finding them to contain many things which I considered more proper to be suppressed than divulged, I determined not to print either the one or the other. I wrote on this subject to Mr. Skinner at Cambridge ; but as he has not been there lately, my letter did not reach him for some time : whereupon he came to this city, and was overjoyed to find that I had not begun to print the said treatises, and has taken away his manuscripts.

“ He told me you have been informed, Sir, that I was going to print the whole of Milton’s works together. I protest to you, that I never had such a thought ; and I should abhor printing the treatises he has written in defence of such a wicked and abominable cause : besides, it would ill become the son of him who first printed *Salmasii Defensio Regia*, and who would have laid down his life to have saved the late King of glorious memory, to print a book so detested by all loyal men. I beg to inform you, Sir, that Mr. Skinner expressed the greatest pleasure that I had not begun the printing of those works ; and told me, that in case the said book had been commenced, it was his intention to have bought up all the copies, in order to suppress them ; and that he had determined to dispose of those manuscripts in such a manner, as that they should never again appear. And I may assure you, Sir, that I will be answerable to you for the decided resolution I have taken of not making use of them myself, particu-

manuscript en Theologie ; mais ayant reçu les dits manuscrits, et y ayant trouvé des choses que je jugeois estre plus propres d'être suppriméz que divulgéz, j'ay pris resolution de n' imprimer n'y l'un n'y l'autre. J'avois escrit pour ce sujet à Mons^r. Skinner à Cambridge : mais comm' il n' a pas esté au dit lieu depuis quelque temps, ma lettre ne lui estoit pas parvenue. Sur cela il est arrivé en cette ville, et a esté ravy d'entendre que je n'avois pas commencé d'imprimer les dits Traités, et il a repris ses manuscrits.

“ Il m' a dit que vous avez esté informé, Monsieur,

larly since he had the honour of speaking to you, and that you informed him you should be displeased if those manuscripts should appear : and as he expects his promotion by your means, there can be no doubt that he will keep his word.

“ I cannot, Sir, conclude this letter without expressing my acknowledgements for the kindness you shewed me when I was in London, and I should be happy to have an opportunity of serving you on any occasion, which would testify with how much respect,

“ I remain, Sir, your most humble

“ and most obedient servant,

“ Amsterdam,

“ DANIEL ELSEVIER.

Nov. 20, 1676.

“ P. S. I forgot to mention, Sir, that neither Mr. Skinner nor myself have had any concern in what has been lately published of the said Milton's ; and that I never heard of it, till Mr. Skinner mentioned it to me here. He had indeed written to me before, that a certain bookseller of London had obtained some letters from some person who had purloined them from the late Milton ; but neither he nor myself have any connexion with that impression, of which I request you would be assured.”

que je debvois imprimer tous les ouvrages de Milton ensemble. Je vous puis protester de n'y avoir jamais pensé, et que j'aurois horreur d'imprimer les Traités qu'il a fait pour la defense d'une si meschante et abominable cause. Outre qu' il ne seroit pas bien seant au fils de celuy qui a imprimé le premier *Salmasij Defensionem Regiam*, et qui auroit donné sa vie s' il eust pu sauver le feu Roy de glorieuse memoire, d'imprimer un livre si detesté de tous les honnestes geans. *Je suis obligé de vous dire, Monsieur, que le Sr. Skinner me tesmoigna une tres grande joye de ce que je n'avois pas commencé l'impression des dits ouvrages, et me dit qu'il estoit d'intention qu'en cas que le dit livre eust esté commencé, d'en achepter les feuilles pour les supprimer, qu'il avoit pris une ferme resolution d'user en sorte des dits manuscripts qu'il [in MS. qu'il] ne paroistroient jamais ;* et j'oserois vous en repondre, Monsieur, dans la forte resolution que je l'ay ni d'en user ainsy, et principalement depuis qu'il a eu l'honneur de vous avoir parlé, et que luy avez tesmoigné que ne seriez pas bien aisé que les dits manuscripts parussent, et comm'il attend de vous son advancement, ou ne doit pas doubter qu' il ne tiene sa parole.

“ Monsieur, Je ne puis finir la presente sans tesmoigner ma recognissance pour les bontés qu' avez eu pour moy, lorsque j'estois à Londres ; et je voudrois avoir occasion de vous pouvoir estre utile à

quelque chose pour pouvoir marker avec combien respect je suis, Monsieur,

“ Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

“ DANIEL ELSEVIER.

“ d' Amsterdam,

le 20^{me}. Novembre 1676.

“ P.S. J'oublois de vous dire, Monsieur, que le S^r. Skinner n'y moy n' avois aucune part à ce qui à paru depuis peu du dit Milton ; et que je n'en avois jamais ouy parler que lorsque Mons^r. Skinner le dit icy. Il m' avoit bien mandé par cydevant *qu'un certain libraire de Londres avoit eu quelques lettres de quelqu' un, qui les avoit derobé au feu Milton ; mais ny luy ny moy n'avois eu aucune part à cette impression, de quoy je vous prie de vouloir estre persuadé.*”

It is worth observing, that Elzevir in this letter has expressed his indignation at the supposition of his printing the works of Milton, which had been written, he rightly says, in defence of an abominable cause ; and yet, at this very time, his catalogue of books, which he announced for sale, supports that cause in no small degree by ^p exhibiting both the *First and Second Defence of the People of England* in his shop at a purchaser's service !

^p Catalog. Libb. qui in Bibliopolio Danielis Elsevirii venales extant. Amst. 1674. Libb. Miscell. p. 121.

But this letter from Elzevir to Sir Joseph Williamson shews that both Skinner and himself were disgusted at the conduct of the bookseller, who had caused the imperfect copy of the State-Letters to be printed; who, as Skinner¹ supposes, was Moses Pitt, and against whom the charge is that he had obtained the letters from some person, who had purloined them from Milton. This probably was said in the spirit of hasty resentment, on account of the surreptitious publication; without considering that, perhaps by purchase from Phillips, the letters might have become the property of this bookseller; to whom, however, we can trace no connection whatever with the manuscript treatise of theology. Indeed the dates of Elzevir's letter and of Skinner's attestation plainly shew, that with the genuine letters this treatise also had been sent by Skinner to Elzevir some months before Pitt had applied to him upon the subject of those in his possession; to whose request, Skinner tells us, he could pay no attention; evidently, because he had already sent to the foreign press what he could affirm to be correct; and because the letters mentioned to him by Pitt he believed to have been stolen, and he knew to be imperfect. Pitt perhaps was aware of the intimacy of the family of Skinner with Milton, and therefore made this application.

Let us now revert a moment to the intimation

¹ See before, p. 347.

given to Skinner from his college, that they expected he would not “ publish any writing mischievous to the *Church or State*.” If in this communication Dr. Barrow had alluded to the manuscript of the *State-Letters* alone, it would have been sufficient to have expressed the expectation that Skinner would publish nothing mischievous to the *State*, omitting all mention of the *Church*. If, on the other hand, it were currently reported and believed that Skinner was in the possession of a theological treatise also by Milton, differing in many respects from the received opinions, the admonition from his college not to injure “ *Church or State*” by publication is pertinent and just. And it is to this treatise, not to the *State-Letters*, that the conversation of Skinner with Mr. Perwich refers. It is reasonable too to suppose, that Skinner might think it necessary then to give some pledge respecting a manuscript, of the precise nature and contents of which little could then be known, except that it had been composed by Milton and was in the possession of Skinner; and perhaps to Sir Joseph Williamson he gave this satisfaction in his conversation with him. This I conclude to have been the theological treatise in question; a portion of it, as I have already said, being transcribed in the same handwriting as the “ true perfect copy of the *State-Let-*

* See before, p. 297.

* See the notice of Skinner's introduction to Sir Joseph Williamson in Elzevir's letter.

ters ;” which is proved to have been that of Daniel Skinner by the attestation signed by his own handwriting in the State-Paper Office. And in the subsequent and far greater part of the manuscript, it must not be forgotten, the hand of one of Milton’s female amanuenses, always believed to be that of his daughter Deborah, is so obvious, in copying sentences, as to have recently occasioned the willing admission of many, Mr. Lemon has informed me, who have compared the Sonnet of Milton, before mentioned, which is in Trinity College, Cambridge, with this theological treatise, that the writer of these sentences is certainly one and the same person. With the recollection of this hand-writing, when I was first favoured with a sight of the treatise, I could not but consider the appearance of it as an attestation to the authenticity of the theological system.

If still it should be urged that this treatise may be a fabrication, to which the name of Milton is unjustly applied ; we may ask, to what purpose could the fabrication be designed ? Could it be for gain ? That is an improbable supposition, when we recollect that, not long before, the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* could obtain at first no more than five pounds from the purchaser. Or was this “ wild young man” bribed to affix, for the purpose of patronizing heresy, the name of Milton to a compilation not his own ? Would he have then suffered the other hand-writings in the greater part of the manuscript to remain ? Would his attempt to deceive have es-

caped the knowledge of Milton's relations, of whom, no doubt, inquiry was made by the agents of government after such papers as Milton had left, and from whom it is reasonable to suppose that the information was received, (which has descended to us by means of Aubrey and Wood,) that in the hands of Mr. Skinner the *Idea Theologiæ* was to be found? Or was the genuine manuscript of Milton lost? If that had been its fate, Phillips would probably have told us so; for he names, we have seen, *a tractate of divinity begun from Wollebius and Ames &c.* as a subject of future discussion, which, we know not why, he chose to forget. The real manuscript had been first, we must suppose, with Cyriack Skinner; then with Daniel; by whom, or by whose order, lastly, it was directed back to *Mr. Skinner, merchant*, when danger seemed to threaten a publication of it, though perhaps not transmitted by Elzevir according to the direction, but brought home, as I have before supposed, by Daniel himself, and surrendered as the price of his restoration to favour which had been lost. The examination of Skinner by Sir Joseph Williamson himself, and probably by others, would indeed have

* It should have been before observed, that in the treatise Ames is called, "*Amesius noster*," p. 447. Lat. edit. I must also here observe that the thirty-first chapter of the first book of the present treatise opens with a declaration, and definition, of *Particular Churches*, exactly in accordance with Ames's English Puritanism, or the opinions of the Puritans, published in 1641, p. 3, &c. *Concerning the Church.*

detected the forgery, if a forgery the treatise be; and Skinner instead of being admitted to the honours of his college, and of being led to expect promotion from the secretary of state, would have been overwhelmed with confusion, disappointment, and contempt. Sir Joseph Williamson, too, we have seen, expressed to Skinner that he should be displeased if the manuscript was published; evidently because he was told, and because he believed, that Milton had compiled it.

There are certainly some expressions in the treatise, which may have maintained their position from heedless copying, or from dictation misunderstood. In the first part of the manuscript, which has been transcribed by Skinner, " " the mistakes, *especially in the references to the quotations*, are in the proportion of fourteen to one, as compared with those in the remaining three-fifths of the work."

Of this part we know not what alterations, what pasted slips of amendments, or what other marginal corrections, and in different hand-writings, might (as in the remaining larger part * such still exist) have been † directed. It is a transcript hastily and

" Dr. Sumner's Introduct. p. xv.

* A very curious description of Milton's care in these respects is given by Dr. Sumner, Lat. edit. p. 314. n. 7.

† Milton appears to have been mortified, in his declining years, at the mistakes of those who copied from his dictation. He tells Peter Heimbach in a letter dat. Aug. 15, 1666. " Hoc abs te

incorrectly made. Perhaps by one of these mistakes the words *Ecclesiam Domini, ut nostra recens*, in the fifth chapter of the first book, have remained; as no English version of *Acts* xx. 28. (the passage in question) is found to exhibit *the Church of the Lord*, although the various readings given in bishop Wilson's Bible mention one with that reading, which has in vain been sought by Dr. Sumner, myself, and others. Jeremiah Felbinger, an unitarian divine of Germany, is known to have rendered, in his German translation of the New Testament in 1660, the passage in the same form, viz. *the Church of the Lord*; and hence the treatise, it has been thought, might be traced to him: as though Skinner, and the other writers of the manuscript, had all concurred in substituting for Milton this person. The reading in the manuscript, which is *Ecclesiam Domini*, is cited as the Latin rendering of the Syriack Version of the New Testament, and is given by Walton in his Polyglott Bible, published in 1657; and to this publication *ut recens nostra* might refer, if the passage be not an extract from some writing by the German divine referring to his translation, which has here remained unaltered; as there is also a subsequent reference, but without laying absolute stress upon the passage, to *Rom.* ix 5. grossly corrupted by the

impetravero, ut, si quid mendosè descriptum aut non interpunctum reperires, id puero, qui hæc excepit, Latine prorsus nescienti, velis imputare, cui singulas planè literulas annumerare non sine miseria dictans cogebar." There is, in the present treatise, mistaken reference also to subjects of discussion.

pointing of this translator. Milton in his printed works has both *the Church of God*, and *the Church of Christ*, the latter of which also, as well as *the Church of the Lord*, is here the reading of some manuscripts. But if we are to trace to others from certain passages, from whole sentences indeed, and from particular sentiments as well as expressions, professedly compiled, an authorship of the whole; then we must be compelled to say that Ames and Wollebius, not to mention others, (and from Wollebius and Ames, his nephew has expressly told us, Milton ordered extracts to be made, when he first thought of a tractate of divinity,) present a similar, indeed a * stronger, claim to notice as the writers of the present treatise.

It has been also observed, that Selden is named in this treatise without some distinctive addition of respect. It is thus, that Milton speaks of him, in some of his * latest works, simply as "our Selden." Nor has it been overlooked, that the innumerable citations from Scripture in the treatise

* See the obligations to both in the manuscript already stated, p. 312. With Wollebius he agrees oftener than with Ames. But see also before, p. 358. With Felbinger there is a very remarkable difference in the present manuscript: for he wrote, in his *Demonstrationes Christianæ*, "quod gratia divina per fidem justificati teneantur vitam suam instituere *secundum decem præcepta Dei* et mandata Christi, &c. ex libris N. T. deprompt." This is not Milton's doctrine in the present treatise.

* More than once in his *Consid.* to remove Hirelings out of the Church, p. 17.

tise could hardly have been remembered or dictated by Milton. But this, and I must repeat too that many of them are citations by other writers, was also his method: His two short treatises, *Of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, and *The Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*, both formed in 1659, long after he was blind, thus contain nearly two hundred cited texts from the Old and New Testament. But in a word, to copy the remarks of an acute investigator of the treatise, " ^b the mind of Milton is stamped on every page. Not only are the known opinions of this remarkable man maintained with the usual seriousness of his character, but the manner in which he arrives at certain newer tenets, adopted by him at a later period of life, bears the same unquestionable impress of his peculiar way of thinking. In the tone all is grave, earnest, and solemn; in the matter there appears not merely a disdain of human authority, but a jealousy of all received doctrines; and finally, to whatever conclusions his arguments may lead, Milton fearlessly pursues and implicitly adopts them. Indeed the more extravagant tenets developed in the work are but the necessary consequences which result from his principles, and at once illustrate most clearly and refute most conclusively the reasonings from which they are deduced. It is not an uncommon case, especially in theology, for those who advance erroneous opinions, when pushed with dan-

^b Quarterly Review, Oct. 1825, p. 442.

gerous consequences as their necessary result, to disclaim the inferences which themselves have not drawn. But Milton was too severe a reasoner, and too honest a man, to disavow or shrink from the avowal of all legitimate inferences from his own opinions. He was therefore neither appalled nor shaken by the view of his system as a whole; which, however it admits the expediency, and even the duty, of uniting in a particular church, would inevitably produce in its result the isolation of every individual, and the dissolution of every religious community."

Nor may the following criticism, in another country, which notices the religious opinions of Milton, and refers to his various changes of them, be overpassed. " ° Una critica delle opinioni politiche e religiose di Milton si può avere nell' opera *Ritratti Poetici, Storici, e Critici di varii moderni uomini di lettere di Appio Anneo da Faba cromaziano*. Ven. 1796, tom. ii. p. 78; dove si può conoscere quanto sia vero che Milton in giovinezza Puritano, in età matura Anabatista e Indipendente, in vecchiezza di nessuna setta, *cangio religion cangiando pelo*, com' ivi è scritto. Sembra che l' odio di lui verso il Clero non fosse che una conseguenza di quell' amore di libertà, che lo dominava, e cui opponeva un grande ostacolo la somma influenza dell' ordine religioso sulle cose dell' Inghilterra al tempo di quelle fiere sommosse: crederei quindi che piu

° Saggio di Critica, &c. ut supr. p. 156.

odiasse l'abuso di quello che la cosa in se stessa. Un uomo del suo ingegno non poteva non conoscere quanto in massima la forza morale della religione sia necessaria a consolidare la felicità di uno Stato. E' anche da notare che a quei tempi erano molto in voga le questioni teologiche, delle quali niente v' ha di più pericoloso a far cadere in incertezze ed errori."



SECTION IX.

Recapitulation and Conclusion.

IN the FIRST SECTION I have omitted the circumstances, which were related in my former account of the life and writings of Milton from the communication of Mr. Richards, of Milton's father-in-law being of Sandford in the vicinity of Oxford, of Milton himself residing at Forest-hill and there writing a great part of his *Paradise Lost*, and of Mr. Warton's finding there many papers of Milton's own writing. For Mr. Warton himself ^a notices only some papers of Mr. Powell, which he there saw; no other ^b document has been found to shew Mr. Powell's residence or connection with Sandford; and the improbability of Milton's writing at Forest-hill any part of his immortal poem, I have ^c stated.

In the SECOND SECTION I have only to observe, that what Dr. Newton and other biographers of

^a See the present account, &c. p. 269, note ¹.

^b See the details of his property, &c. pp. 69, 70, &c.

^c See before, p. 29.

Milton have stated, as to the correspondence of the Council of State with other governments, is not quite correct. Dr. Newton says, "Milton served as Latin secretary for foreign affairs under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Restoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language: they thought it an indignity and meanness, to which this or any free nation ought not to submit; and took a noble resolution neither to write any letters to any foreign states, *nor to receive any answers from them*, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all." Now, in the "preceding Orders of Council, it will be seen that they did receive answers from other states in their respective languages, which Milton was directed to translate.

To the THIRD SECTION a curious addition is now given, which I remember not to have met with in any remarks of the biographers on the classical taste of Milton. It is, that "he often read Plautus; in order the better to rail at Salmasius." In the same section, the ' letter of Milton, which was given while the sheet was printing, in behalf of Marvel,

^d See before, pp. 141, 146.

^e Toland's *Vindicius Liberi*, or Defence of himself, &c. 1702, p. 8.

^f See before, p. 162.

confirms what in my former account of the poet I had said without alteration, that he was not totally blind before 1653, but to which I have added in the present, from Du Moulin's inhuman taunt, a ^s belief that in 1652, in which year Du Moulin published the book that contained it, the sight of both eyes was gone. This letter, however, dated Feb. 21, 1652, that is, 1652-3, is written steadily with his own hand throughout, and clearly proves that he had still the use of one eye, which could direct his hand to express elegantly the friendly feelings of his heart. It may here be mentioned that Marvel was in 1653 ^h appointed by Cromwell tutor to Mr. Dutton; possibly through the interest of Milton. Marvel thus acknowledges the former kindness, in a letter to Milton, dated at Eton, June 2, 1654, " ' He [Bradshawe] might suspect that I delivering it [a letter] just upon my departure, it might have brought in it some second proposition, *like to that which you have before made to him by your letter to my advantage.*"

To the FOURTH AND FIFTH SECTIONS I offer no addition.

In the SIXTH SECTION what the wife of Milton told the early admirers of his poetry, must be inserted;

^s See before, p. 147.

^h Milton's State-Letters, &c. p. 98.

ⁱ Biograph. Brit. Art. *Marvel*.

namely, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning dictated to her sometimes twenty or thirty verses; that Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley, were his favourite English poets; and that he pronounced Dryden to be a rhymist rather than a poet. Dryden's best poems, however, had not then appeared. To Dryden, who often visited him, it must be added, Milton acknowledged that Spenser was his original. Nor must Phillips's relation here be overpassed: "There is a remarkable passage in the composure of *Paradise Lost*, which I have a particular occasion to remember; for, whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years as I went from time to time to visit him, in a parcel of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time, which, being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing; having, as the summer came on, not been shewn any for a considerable while, and desiring to know the reason thereof, was answered, *that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that whatever he attempted was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much*; so that in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein." Dr. Johnson ridicules the notion that a writer should suppose himself influenced by times or seasons; but while he has thus

* Life of Milton, p. xxxvi.

hastily decided on the intellectual impulses of Milton, he has also ¹ contradicted himself.

Lastly, it may be remarked that Milton's favourite doctrine of the superiority of man to woman, which indeed he strenuously asserts in his theological treatise as well as in his poetry, and in other parts of his works, contributed perhaps to the circumstance of his first wife's temporary abandonment of him, and to the desire of his daughters, in his later days, to quit the attention which they had been used to pay him. But his last wife ^m appears to have treated him with all the kindness which his blindness and infirmities required. Yet his favourite doctrine had not been acted upon without publick notice: for thus an antagonist addresses him. " ⁿ The wife is subject to her husband, one to one; yet no vassal, unless Mr. Milton's doctrine of divorce may be admitted, that he may turn her off as soon, or as oft, as his wayward spirit can find no delight in her. The children are subject to their parents, yet no slaves."

To the concluding note of Mr. Warton in the SEVENTH SECTION, in which Caleb Clarke the grand-

¹ " He [Johnson] here admits an opinion, of the human mind being influenced by seasons, which he ridicules in his writings." Boswell's Life of Johnson, 3d. edit. vol. ii. p. 264.

^m See what is before said of this wife, and of his daughters.

ⁿ The Duty of Kingship, in answer to Mr. Milton, &c. By G. S. 1660, p. 71.

son of Milton (who migrated to the East Indies) is mentioned, I am enabled to add from the kind communication of Sir James Mackintosh, that he was Parish-Clerk of Madras. His children were the last descendants of the poet; but of them nothing further is known.

In the EIGHTH SECTION I have so fully considered the Theological Treatise of Milton, as to render unnecessary any other observation than that the spirit, in which it has been framed, presents him to our view, and to our respect, “ ° becoming gradually more tolerant of the supposed errors of others, as the period drew near when he must answer for his own before an unerring tribunal.”

• Dr. Sumner's Introduct. p. xxvi.

APPENDIX
CONTAINING
AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
ORIGIN OF PARADISE LOST.

APPENDIX.

An Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost.

THE earliest observation respecting the * Origin of *Paradise Lost* appears to have been made by Voltaire, in the year 1727. He was then studying in

* "The petty circumstances, by which great minds are led to the first conception of great designs, are so various and volatile, that nothing can be more difficult to discover: Fancy in particular is of a nature so airy, that the traces of her step are hardly to be discerned; ideas are so fugitive, that if poets, in their life time, were questioned concerning the manner in which the seeds of considerable productions first arose in their mind, they might not always be able to answer the inquiry; can it then be possible to succeed in such an inquiry concerning a mighty genius, who has been consigned more than a century to the tomb, especially when, in the records of his life, we can find no positive evidence on the point in question? However trifling the chances it may afford of success, the investigation is assuredly worthy our pursuit; for, as an accomplished critick has said, in speaking of another poet, with his usual felicity of discernment and expression, the inquiry cannot be void of entertainment whilst MILTON is our constant theme: whatever may be the fortune of the chace, we are sure it will lead us through pleasant prospects and a fine country." See Hayley's *Conjectures on the Origin of Paradise Lost*.

England; and had become so well acquainted with our language as to publish an English essay on epick poetry; in which are the following words:

“Milton, as he was travelling through Italy in his youth, saw at Florence a comedy called *Adamo*, written by one Andreini, a player, and dedicated to Mary de Medicis, queen of France. The subject of the play was the Fall of Man; the actors, God, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the seven mortal Sins: That topick, so improper for a drama, but so suitable to the absurd genius of the Italian stage (as it was at that time,) was handled in a manner entirely conformable to the extravagance of the design. The scene opens with a Chorus of Angels; and a Cherubim thus speaks for the rest: *‘Let the rainbow be the fiddlestick of the heavens! let the planets be the notes of our musick! let time beat carefully the measure, and the winds make the sharps, &c.* Thus the play begins, and every scene rises above the last in profusion of impertinence!

“A la lira del Ciel Iri sia l’arco,
 “Corde le sfere sien, note le stelle,
 “Sien le pause e i sospir l’aure novelle,
 “E ’l tempo i tempi à misurar non parco!”

Choro d’Angeli, &c. *Adamo*, ed. 1617.

The better judgement of the author, Mr. Walker observes, determined him to omit this chorus in a subsequent edition of his drama: accordingly it does not appear in that of Perugia, 1641. See the *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, p. 169.

“Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be (for the genius of Milton, and his only,) the foundation of an epick poem.

“He took from that ridiculous trifle the first hint of the noblest work, which human imagination has ever attempted, and which he executed more than twenty years after.”

That Milton had certainly read the sacred drama of Andreini, is the opinion both of Dr. Joseph Warton and of Mr. Hayley. Another elegant critick has observed, that Voltaire may have related a tradition perhaps current in England at the time it was visited by him; “a period at which, it may be presumed, some of the contemporaries of Milton were living, for he was then only about fifty years dead. Milton, with the candour which is usually united with true genius, probably acknowledged to his friends his obligations to the Italian dramatist, and the floating tradition met the ardent inquiries of the French poet.” It may be worth mentioning here, that Dante, according to the account of some Italian criticks^d, took the hint of his *Inferno* from a nocturnal representation of Hell, exhibited in 1304 on the river Arno at Florence; and that Tasso is

^c Hist. Mem. on Ital. Tragedy, p. 170.

^d Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 241.

said to have * conceived the idea of writing his *Aminta* at the representation, in 1567, of Lo Sfortunato of Agostino Argenti in Ferrara.

From the *Adamo* of Andreini a poetical extract, as well as the summary of the arguments of each act and scene, were given by Dr. Warton, in an appendix to the second volume of his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, 1782. Mr. Hayley has cited other specimens of the poetry in 'this "spirited, though irregular and fantastick, composition;" from which Milton's fancy is supposed to have caught fire. A few quotations also, from this rare and curious drama, have been long since given in Notes on the *Paradise Lost*. But, if the *Adamo* be examined with the utmost nicety, Milton will be found no servile copyist: He will be found, as in numberless instances of his extensive, his curious, and careful reading, to have improved the slightest hints into the finest descriptions. Milton indeed, with the skill and grace of an Apelles or a Phidias, has often animated the rude sketch and the shapeless block. † I mean not to detract from the Italian

* Hist. Mem. ut supr.

† From the remarks of Prince Giacomo Giustiniani, (the accomplished governour of Perugia,) on the *Adamo*, which were transmitted to Mr. Walker, and by Mr. Walker obligingly communicated to me, it appears that the criticks of Italy consider Milton not a little indebted to their countryman. I will cite the opinion of the liberal and elegant Tiraboschi: "Certo benchè *L'Adamo* dell' Andreini sia in confronto del *Paradiso Perduto*

drama ; but let it be here remarked once for all, in Milton's own words, that “^s *borrowing*, if it be *not bettered* by the borrower, among good authors is accounted *plagiarie*.” Let the bitterest enemies of Milton prove, if they can, whether the author of this ingenuous remark may be exhibited in such a light ; rather let them acknowledge that, in fully comparing him with those authors who have written on similar subjects, he must ever be considered as

“ above the rest
“ In shape and gesture proudly eminent.”

The drama of Andreini was so little known when Dr. Birch was writing the Life of Milton, that Warburton, in a letter to that learned biographer, preserved in the British Museum, ridicules the relation of Voltaire. “ It is said that it appeared by a MS. in Trin. Coll. Camb. that Milton intended an opera of the *Paradise Lost*. Voltaire, on the credit of

ciò che è il Poema di Ennio in confronto a quel di Virgilio, nondimeno non può negarsi che le idee gigantesche, delle quali l' autore Inglese ha abbellito il suo Poema, di Satana, che entra nel Paradiso terrestre, e arde d' invidia al vedere la felicità dell' Uomo, del congresso de Demonj, della battaglia degli Angioli contra Lucifero, e più altre sommiglienti immagini veggonsi nell' *Adamo* adombrate per modo, che a me sembra molto credibile, che anche il Milton dalle immondezze, se così è lecito dire, dell' Andreini raccogliesse l'oro, di cui adorno il suo Poema. Per altro *L'Adamo* dell' Andreini, benché abbia alcuni tratti di pessimo gusto, ne hà altri ancora, che si posson proporre come modello di eccellente poesia.”

^s Iconoclastes, Prose-Works, edit. 1698, fol. vol. ii. p. 509.

this circumstance, amongst a heap of impertinency, pretends boldly that he took the hint from a comedy he saw at Florence, called *Adamo*. Others imagined too he conceived the idea in Italy; now I will give you good proof that all this is a vision. In one of his political pamphlets, written early by him, I forget which, he tells the world he had conceived a notion of an epick poem on the story of Adam or Arthur. What then will you say must we do with this circumstance of the Trin. Coll. MS? I believe I can explain that matter. When the parliament got uppermost, they suppressed the playhouses; on which Sir John Denham, I think, and others, contrived to get operas performed. This took with the people, and was much in their taste; and religious ones being the favourites of that sanctified people, was, I believe, what inclined Milton at that time (and neither before nor after) to make an opera of it."— Even at a much later period, the very existence of the *Adamo* was denied; for Mr. Mickle, an ardent admirer of Milton, and the very able translator of *The Lusiad*, calls it "a Comedy which nobody ever saw;" and observes, "that even some *Italian literati* declared that no such author [as Andreini] was known in Italy." Dr. Johnson also, in his *Life of Milton*, calls Voltaire's relation "a wild, unauthorised, story."

That Milton had conceived, in his younger days,

^b Dissertation prefixed to the Translation of the *Lusiad*, 2d edit. Ox. p. ccii.

as Dr. Warburton has observed, the notion of an epick poem on the story of Arthur, is evident from his own words in the *Mansus*, v. 80, &c. and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, v. 155, &c. But Mr. Hayley, with great acuteness and elegance of language, remarks, that "it seems very probable that Milton, in his collection of Italian books, had brought the *Adamo* of Andreini to England; and that the perusal of an author, wild indeed, and abounding in grotesque extravagance, yet now and then shining with pure and united rays of fancy and devotion, first gave a *new bias* to the imagination of the English poet; or, to use the expressive phrase of Voltaire, first revealed to him the *hidden majesty of the subject*. The apostate angels of Andreini, though sometimes hideously and absurdly disgusting, yet occasionally sparkle with such fire as might awaken the emulation of Milton." The English reader is indebted to Mr. Hayley for the following analysis of the arguments of each act and scene in the *Adamo*.

"THE CHARACTERS.

"GOD the FATHER.

"CHORUS of SERAPHIM, CHERUBIM, and ANGELS.

"The Archangel MICHAEL.

"ADAM.

"EVE.

"A CHERUB, the guardian of ADAM.

"LUCIFER.

"SATAN.

"BEELZEBUB.

- " The SEVEN mortal SINS.
- " The WORLD.
- " The FLESH.
- " FAMINE.
- " LABOUR.
- " DESPAIR.
- " DEATH.
- " VAIN GLORY.
- " SERPENT.
- " VOLANO, an infernal messenger.
- " CHORUS of PHANTOMS.
- " CHORUS of fiery, airy, aquatick, and infernal
" SPIRITS."

ACT I. SCENE. 1. " Chorus of Angels, singing the glory of God.—After their hymn, which serves as a prologue, God the Father, Angels, Adam and Eve.—God calls to Lucifer, and bids him survey with confusion the wonders of his power.—He creates Adam and Eve—their delight and gratitude.

SCENE 2. " Lucifer, arising from Hell—he expresses his enmity against God, the good Angels, and Man.

SCENE 3. " Lucifer, Satan, and Beelzebub.—Lucifer excites his associates to the destruction of Man, and calls other Demons from the abyss to conspire for that purpose.

SCENE 4, 5, and 6. " Lucifer, summoning seven distinct Spirits, commissions them to act under the character of the seven mortal Sins, with the following names :

" MELECANO	————	PRIDE.
" LURCONE	————	ENVY.
" RUSPICANO	————	ANGER.
" ARFARAT	————	AVARICE.
" MALTEA	————	SLOTH.
" DULCIATO	————	LUXURY.
" GULIAR	————	GLUTTONY.

ACT II. SCENE 1. " The Angels, to the number of

fifteen, separately sing the grandeur of God, and his munificence to Man.

SCENE 2. "Adam and Eve, with Lurcone and Gular watching unseen.—Adam and Eve express their devotion to God so fervently, that the evil Spirits, though invisible, are put to flight by their prayer.

SCENE 3. "The Serpent, Satan, Spirits.—The Serpent, or Lucifer, announces his design of circumventing Woman.

SCENE 4. "The Serpent, Spirits, and Volano.—Volano arrives from Hell, and declares that the confederate Powers of the abyss designed to send a goddess from the deep, entitled Vain Glory, to vanquish Man.

SCENE 5. "Vain Glory, drawn by a Giant, Volano, the Serpent, Satan, and Spirits.—The Serpent welcomes Vain Glory as his confederate, then hides himself in the tree to watch and tempt Eve.

SCENE 6. "The Serpent and Vain Glory at first concealed; the Serpent discovers himself to Eve, tempts and seduces her.—Vain Glory closes the Act with expressions of triumph.

ACT III. SCENE 1. "Adam and Eve.—After a dialogue of tenderness she produces the fruit.—Adam expresses horror, but at last yields to her temptation.—When both have tasted the fruit, they are overwhelmed with remorse and terror; they fly to conceal themselves.

SCENE 2. "Volano proclaims the Fall of Man, and invites the Powers of darkness to rejoice, and pay their homage to the Prince of Hell.

SCENE 3. "Volano, Satan, chorus of Spirits, with ensigns of victory.—Expression of their joy.

SCENE 4. "Serpent, Vain Glory, Satan, and Spirits.—The Serpent commands Canoro, a musical Spirit, to sing his triumph, which is celebrated with songs and dances in the 4th and 5th scenes; the latter closes with expressions of horror from the triumphant Demons, on the approach of God.

SCENE 6. "God the Father, Angels, Adam and Eve.—

God summons and rebukes the sinners; then leaves them, after pronouncing his malediction.

SCENE 7. "An Angel, Adam and Eve.—The Angel gives them rough skins for clothing, and exhorts them to penitence.

SCENE 8. "The Archangel Michael, Adam and Eve.—Michael drives them from Paradise with a scourge of fire. Angels close the Act with a chorus, exciting the offenders to hope in repentance.

ACT IV. SCENE 1. "Volano, chorus of fiery, airy, earthly, and aquatick Spirits.—They express their obedience to Lucifer.

SCENE 2. "Lucifer rises, and utters his abhorrence of the light; the Demons console him—He questions them on the meaning of God's words and conduct towards Man—He spurns their conjectures and announces the incarnation, then proceeds to new machinations against Man.

SCENE 3. "Infernal Cyclops, summoned by Lucifer, make a new world at his command.—He then commissions three Demons against Man, under the characters of the World, the Flesh, and Death.

SCENE 4. "Adam alone.—He laments his fate, and at last feels his sufferings aggravated, in beholding Eve flying in terror from the hostile animals.

SCENE 5. "Adam and Eve.—She excites her companion to suicide.

SCENE 6. "Famine, Thirst, Lassitude, Despair, Adam and Eve.—Famine explains her own nature, and that of her associates.

SCENE 7. "Death, Adam and Eve.—Death reproaches Eve with the horrors she has occasioned—Adam closes the Act by exhorting Eve to take refuge in the mountains.

ACT V. SCENE 1. "The Flesh, in the shape of a woman; and Adam.—He resists her temptation.

SCENE 2. "Lucifer, the Flesh, and Adam.—Lucifer pretends to be a man, and the elder brother of Adam.

SCENE 3. "A Cherub, Adam, the Flesh, and Lucifer.—The Cherub secretly warns Adam against his foes; and at last defends him with manifest power.

SCENE 4. "The World, in the shape of a man, exulting in his own finery.

SCENE 5. "Eve and the World.—He calls forth a rich palace from the ground, and tempts Eve with splendour.

SCENE 6. "Chorus of Nymphs, Eve, the World, and Adam.—He exhorts Eve to resist these allurements—the World calls the Demons from Hell to enchain his victims—Eve prays for mercy: Adam encourages her.

SCENE 7. "Lucifer, Death, chorus of Demons.—They prepare to seize Adam and Eve.

SCENE 8. "The Archangel Michael, with a chorus of good Angels.—After a spirited altercation, Michael subdues and triumphs over Lucifer.

SCENE 9. "Adam, Eve, chorus of Angels.—They rejoice in the victory of Michael: he animates the offenders with a promise of favour from God, and future residence in Heaven:—they express their hope and gratitude.—The Angels close the drama, by singing the praise of the Redeemer."

When the reader considers the allegorical characters in this drama, and those in Milton's sketches on similar subjects intended once for tragedies, he will find further reason to admit that the *Adamo* had made considerable impression, either in representation or by perusal, on the mind of the English poet.

Of Andreini, who has been contemptuously called a stroller, Mr. Hayley has vindicated the fame. "He had some tincture of classical learning, and considerable piety. He occasionally imitates Virgil,

and quotes the Fathers." In one of the passages cited from his *Adamo* by Mr. Hayley, Mr. Walker observes that "the course of a river is described with a richness of fancy, and a "dance of words," that prove Andreini to have been endowed with no common poetick powers. Of the *Adamo* there have been four editions, those of Milan, in 1613; and 1617, printed in quarto; that of Perugia, in 1641, printed in duodecimo; and that of Modena in 1685, printed in the same form. The edition of 1641 is considered the most rare. The description, to which Mr. Walker alludes, is beautifully amplified in that edition, and has been given in the Appendix to the *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, p. xlv. Andreini was the son of the celebrated actress, Isabella Andreini. His various productions, says Mr. Hayley, "amount to the number of thirty; and form a singular medley of comedies and devout poems." The writer of the article *Andreini (Isabelle)* in the *Nouveau Dict. Hist. à Caen*, 1786, adds to the account of her son's theatrical pieces, "On a encore d'Andreini trois *Traitées en faveur de la Comédie et des Co-*

¹ Hist. Memoir on Ital. Tragedy, p. 160.

² "Giovanni Battista Andreini, Fiorentino, o piuttosto Pistojese, fu figlio della celebre Comica Isabella Andreini (della quale si veda il Bayle, e il Mazzuchelli,) e nacque nel 1578. Dopo essersi acquistato molto credito sulle Scene Italiane porrossi in Francia, ove si meritò la stima di Luigi XIII. Visse per lo meno sino al 1652." From the remarks before mentioned of Prince Giustiniani,—It is not impossible, that Milton might have seen and conversed with Andreini, when he visited France and Italy.

médiens, publiés à Paris en 1625; ils sont fort rares."

II. The next remark respecting the Origin of *Paradise Lost* is that of Dr. Pearce, who, in the Preface to his Review of the Text of the twelve books, &c. published in 1733, says, "It is probable that Milton took the first hint of the Poem from an Italian tragedy, called *Il Paradiso Perso*; for I am informed that there is such an one extant, printed many years before Milton entered upon his design." Mr. Hayley, in a very extensive research, has been able to discover no such performance. Nor have my inquiries been more successful.

III. We are next informed, in the Preface to the poetical works of the Rev. J. Sterling, printed at Dublin in 1734, that "The great Milton is said to have ingenuously confessed that he owed his immortal work of *Paradise Lost* to Mr. Fletcher's *Locustæ*." The person here mentioned is Phineas Fletcher, better known by his poem, entitled the *Purple Island*; and the *Locustæ* is a spirited Latin poem, written against the ¹ Jesuits, and published

¹ The *Jesuits* were called *Locusts*, in the theological language of this period. See *Sundrie Sermons* by bishop Lake, fol. 1629, p. 205. "There is a kind of metaphorical *Locusts* and Caterpillers, *Locusts* that came out of the bottomlesse pit; I meane popish Priests and *Jesuits*; the Catterpillers of the Commonwealth, Projectors and inventors of new tricks how to exhaust the purses of the subiects, couering priuate ends with publicke pretences."

at Cambridge, while Milton was a student there, in 1627; as was also the same author's *Locusts, or Apollyonists*, an English poem, consisting of five cantos. That Milton had read both the Latin and English Poem of Fletcher, I am persuaded; for I have met with passages in both, with which he appears indeed to have been pleased. But Milton's obligations to Fletcher are too confined to admit so extensive an acknowledgement, as that which is contained in Mr. Sterling's Preface; and indeed the authority of the anecdote has not been given. Mr. Sterling has translated with great spirit the speech of Lucifer to his Angels in the *Locustæ, vel Pietas Jesuitica*. See his poems, p. 43. As Fletcher's Latin Poem is little known, it may be here proper to select, from this speech, the lines which seem to have influenced the imagination of Milton, and perhaps to have given rise to the preceding anecdote.

- " Nos contrà immemori per tuta silentia somno
- " Sternimur interea, et, mediâ jam luce supini
- " Stertentes, festam trahimus, pia turba, quietem.
- " Quòd si animos sine honore acti sine fine laboris
- " Pœnitet, et proni imperii regnique labantur
- " Nil miseret, positus flagris, odiisque remissis,
- " Oramus veniam, et dexteras præbemus inermes.
- " Fors ille audacis facti, et justæ immemor iræ,
- " Placatus, facilisque manus et fœdera junget.
- " Fors solito lapsos (peccati oblitus) honori
- " Restituet, cœlum nobis solûmque relinquet.
- " At me nulla dies animi, cœptique prioris,
- " Dissimilem arguerit: quin nunc rescindere cœlum,
- " Et conjurato victricem milite pacem
- " Rumpere, ferventique juvat miscere tumultu.

- " Quò tanti cecidere animi? Quò pristina virtus.
 " Cessit, in æternam quâ mecum irrumpere lucens
 " Tentâstis, trepidûmque armis perfringere cœlum?
 " Nunc verò indecores felicia ponitis arma,
 " Et toties victo imbelles conceditis hosti.
 " Per vos, per domitas cœlesti fulmine vires,
 " Indomitûmque odium, projecta resumite tela;
 " Dum fas, dum breve tempus adest, accendite pugnas,
 " Restaurate acies, fractûmque reponite Martem.
 " Ni facitis, mox soli, et (quod magis urit) inulti,
 " Æternûm (heu) vacuo flammis cruciabimur antro.
 " Ille quidem nullâ, heu, nullâ violabilis arte,
 " Securum sine fine tenet, sine milite regnum;
 " A nullo patitur, nullo violatur ab hoste:
 " Compatur tamen, inque suis violabile membris
 " Corpus habet: nunc ô totis consurgite telis,
 " Quâ patet ad vulnus nudum sine tegmine corpus,
 " Imprimite ultrices, penitâsque recondite, flammâs.
 " Accelerat funesta dies, jam limine tempus
 " Insistit, cûm nexa ipse cum vertice membra
 " Naturam induerint cœlestem, ubi gloria votum
 " Atque animum splendor superent, ubi gaudia damno
 " Crescant, deliciae que modum, finemque recusent.
 " At nos supplicio æterno, Stygiisque catenis
 " Compressi, flammis et vivo sulphure tecti,
 " Perpetuas duro solvemus carcere poenas.
 " Hic anima, extremos jam tum perpressa dolores,
 " Majores semper metuit, queritûrque remotam,
 " Quam toto admisit præsentem pectore, mortem,
 " Orâque cœruleas perreptans flamma medullas
 " Torquet anhela siti, fibrâsque atque ilia lambit.
 " Mors vivit, moritûrque inter mala mille superstes
 " Vita, vicêsque ipsâ cum morte, et nomina mutat.
 " Cûm verò nullum moriendi conscia finem
 " Mens reputat, cûm mille annis mille addidit annos,
 " Præteritûmque nihil venturo detrahit ævum,
 " Mox etiam stellas, etiam superaddit arenas;

" Poena tamen damno crescit, per flagra, per ignes,
 " Per quicquid miserum est, præceps ruit, anxia lentam
 " Provocat infelix mortem; si fortè relabi
 " Possit, et in nihilum rursus dispersa resolvî.
 " Æquemus meritis poenas, atque ultima passis
 " Plura tamen magnis exactor debet ausis,
 " Tartareis mala speluncis, vindictæque coelo
 " Deficiat; nunquam, nunquam crudelis inultos,
 " Immeritosve, Erebus capiet: meruisse nefandum
 " Supplicium medios inter solabitur ignes,
 " Et, licet immensos, factis superâsse dolores.
 " Nunc agite, ô Proceres, omnesque effundite technas,
 " Consulite, imperiôque alacres succurrite lapso.
 " Dixerat, insequitur fremitus, trepidantiæque inter
 " Agmina submissæ franguntur murmure voces.
 " Qualis, ubi Oceano mox præcipitandus Ibero
 " Immineat Phœbus, flavique ad litora Chami
 " Conveniant, glomerantque per auras agmina muscæ,
 " Fit sonitus; longo crescentes ordine turbæ
 " Buccinulis voces acunt, sociosque vocantes,
 " Vndas nube premunt; strepitu vicinia rauco
 " Completur, resonantque æcensis litora bombis."

The simile, which here follows this speech, resembles, in some degree, that of Milton in his poem on the fifth of November, ver. 176, &c. and also *Par. Lost*, B. i. 768. To which we might add the assembly of devils, summoned before Lucifer in the old French morality of *The Assumption*, 1527.

" Ung grand tas de dyables plus drus
 " Que moucherons en l' air volans.—"

Milton's Latin poem is dated at the age of seventeen, namely in 1625. Fletcher's was published in 1627. The subjects of both are certainly similar.

Fletcher, whose diction and imagery are often extremely beautiful, was educated at Eton, whence he was sent to King's College, Cambridge, in 1600 : became B.A. in 1604, and M.A. in 1608 ; was afterwards beneficed at Hilgay in Norfolk, and died in 1649.

IV. Hitherto what had been mentioned as hints, to which the active mind of Milton might not be insensible, had been mentioned without betraying a wish to tear the laurels from the brow of the great poet. Not such was the intelligence conveyed to the publick by the malicious Lauder. He, unfortunate man, scrupled not to disgrace the considerable learning which he possessed, and to forfeit all pretensions to probity, by an audacious endeavour to prove that Milton was " the worst and greatest of all plagiaries." He acquired, indeed, a temporary credit, and engaged a powerful advocate in his cause, by the speciousness of his charge. But he " played most foully for it." He corrupted the text of those poets, whom he produced as evidences against the originality of Milton, by interpolating several verses either of his own fabrication, or from the Latin translation of *Paradise Lost*, by William Hog. His enmity to Milton first discovered itself, on Dr. Newton's publishing his proposals for printing a new edition of the *Paradise Lost* with Notes of various authors ; which appeared in 1749. He affirmed that " he could prove," Dr. Newton says, (giving an account of his interview with Lauder,)

“that Milton had borrowed the substance of whole books together, and that there was scarcely a single thought or sentiment in his Poem which he had not stolen from some author or other, notwithstanding his vain pretence to *things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme*. And then, in confirmation of his charge, he recited a long roll of Scotch, German, and Dutch poets, and affirmed that he had brought the books along with him which were his vouchers; and appealed particularly to Ramsay, a Scotch divine, and to Masenius, a German jesuit: But, upon producing his authors, he could not find Masenius; he had dropped the book somewhere or other in the way, and expressed much surprise and concern for the loss of it; Ramsay he left with me, and my opinion of Milton's imitations of that author I have given in a Note on B. ix. 513. I knew very well that Milton was an universal scholar, as famous for his great reading as for the extent of his genius: and I thought it not improbable, that Mr. Lauder, having the good fortune to meet with these German and Dutch poems, might have traced out there some of his imitations and allusions, which had escaped the researches of others: and it was my advice to him then, and as often as I had opportunities of seeing him afterwards, that if he had really made such notable discoveries as he boasted, he would do well to communicate them to the publick; an ingenious countryman of his had published an *Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients*, and he would equally deserve the thanks of the learned world by

writing an *Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Moderns*; but at the same time I recommended to him a little more modesty and decency, and urged all the arguments I could to persuade him to treat Milton's name with more respect, and not to write of him with the same acrimony and rancour with which he *spoke* of him; it would weaken his cause instead of strengthening it, and would hurt himself more than Milton in the opinion of all candid readers. He began with publishing some specimens of his work in *The Gentleman's Magazine*: and I was sorry to find that he had no better regarded my advice in his manner of writing; for his papers were much in the same strain and spirit as his conversation; his assertions strong, and his proofs weak. However, to do him justice, several of the quotations which he had made from *Adamus Ewul*, a tragedy of the famous Hugo Grotius, I thought so exactly parallel to several passages in the *Paradise Lost*, that I readily adopted them, and inserted them without scruple in my Notes; esteeming it no reproach to Milton, but rather a commendation of his taste and judgement, to have gathered so many of the choicest flowers in the gardens of others, and to have transplanted them with improvements into his own. At length, after I had published my first edition of the *Paradise Lost*, came forth Mr. Lauder's *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*: but except the quotations from Grotius, which I had already inserted in my first edition, I found in Mr. Lauder's authors not above half a dozen

passages, which I thought worth transferring into my second edition; not but he had produced some passages somewhat resembling others in Milton; but when a similitude of thought or expression, of sentiment or description, occurs in Scripture and we will say in Staphorsius, in Virgil and perhaps in Alexander Ross, in Ariosto and perhaps in Tasso, I should rather conclude that Milton had borrowed from the former whom he is certainly known to have read, than from the latter whom it is very uncertain whether he had ever read or not. We know that he had often drawn, and delighted to draw, from the pure fountain; and why then should we believe that he chose rather to drink of the stream after it was polluted by the trash and filth of others? We know that he had thoroughly studied, and was perfectly acquainted with, the graces and beauties of the great originals; and why then should we think that he was only the servile copier of perhaps a bad copy, which, perhaps he had never seen?"

If Lauder had traced the marks of imitation in Milton with truth and candour; if he had modestly noted images or sentiments apparently transferred from other writers, yet still perhaps fortuitous coincidences; he would have gratified rational curiosity. But he was intent on blackening the fame of Milton. He published, besides his Essay, "*Delectus Auctorum Sacrorum Miltono Facem Prælucentium*,"

^a In 1752, and 1753.

in two volumes; of which the first contained "Andreas Barthelemi Bodmatus Sætra," and "Schægou's Grotius Adamius Enall, Tragicus;" the second, "Jacobus Masenius Sarcotides Libri tres," and "Odorici Nabrearchæ Dæmonomachia Liber unus," and "Caspari Barleai Paraphrasus," and "Frederici Taubmanni Bellum Anglicanum Libri tres." But, as Mr. Hayley finely observes, Milton "by the force and opulence of his own fancy was exempted from the inclination, and the necessity, of borrowing and retailing the ideas of other poets; but, rich as he was in his own proper fund, he chose to be perfectly acquainted not only with the wealth, but even with the poverty, of others." Indeed I may venture to strengthen this

^a From the Edinburgh edit. of 1638.

^b From the edition of the Hague, 1601.

^c From the edition of Cologne, 1644. The fourth and fifth books are printed in Barbou's edition of the Sarcotis, printed at Paris, in 1781: to which are prefixed two Letters "Aux RR. PP. Jesuites Auteurs des Memoires de Trévoux, Où l'on compare le PARADIS PERDU de Milton avec le Poème intitulé SARCOTIS du R.P. Jacques Masenius, Jésuite Allemand." The liberal writer of the Article, *Masenius*, in the *Nouveau Dict. Hist.* à Caen, 1785, considers the pretended obligations of Milton to Masenius too trifling to be mentioned.

^d From the Vienna edit. 1627.

^e This is a translation from the *Paradise* of Catsius, originally written in Dutch. It is an epithalamium on the nuptials of Adam and Eve; and Mr. Hayley pronounces it to be spirited and graceful. Many of Catsius's Dutch poems were translated into Latin verse à Caspare Barleq, et Cornelio Boyo, and first published in their new dress at Dordrecht in 1643.

^f This poem, consisting of two books, and a fragment of a third, Mr. Hayley says, was originally printed in 1604.

observation by Milton's own words, in which he seems to promise the production of some great poetical work. " ' Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that *for some few years yet* I may go on trust with him towards the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine ; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of some riming parasite ; nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren Daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases : to this must be added *industrious and select reading*, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs." Mr. Hayley therefore may be justified in his opinion, that Milton read, in different languages, authors of every class ; " and I doubt not," he adds, " but he had perused every poem collected by Lauder, though some of them hardly afford ground enough for a conjecture, that he remembered any passage they contain, in the course of his nobler composition."

V. We are next presented with the following information of a learned and ingenious traveller, well

' Of Reformation, &c. B. ii. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 223. edit. 1698. This was first published in 1641.

known to the literary world by his eminent services in the cause of Christianity. “ “ During my short stay at Dusseldorf, I became acquainted with a baron de Harold, an Irishman, who is colonel of the regiment of Koningsfeld, &c.—But my reason for mentioning the baron, was to inform you, that he is now employed in translating, into English verse, a Latin poem, entitled *The Christiad*, written by Robert Clarke, a Carthusian monk of the convent of Nieuport near Ostend ; from which he asserts that our great poet has borrowed largely. The poem, which is on the Passion of Christ, in seventeen books, contains, indeed, many ideas and descriptions, strikingly similar to those of Milton in his *Paradise Lost*. But, unless the baron can produce an edition previous to that which he possesses, which was printed at Bruges in 1678, it will be difficult to convict Milton of plagiarism in this instance ; for Johnson, if I recollect rightly, informs us, that Elwood saw a complete copy of the *Paradise Lost* at Milton’s house, at Chalfont, in 1665 ; that Milton sold the copy in 1667, and that the third edition was printed in 1678, when it is probable that many copies had passed over to the continent, and contributed to increase the reputation which his name had gained abroad ; and therefore we have a right to suppose, that Clarke, and not Milton, was the copyist : The

* Letters during the course of a tour through Germany in 1791 and 1792, by Robert Gray, M.A. published in 1794, pp. 19—21.

poem, however, appears to have much merit. The baron has finished ten or eleven books, with what fidelity I know not, but certainly with much animation. Milton has often been accused of plagiarism, it is to be feared sometimes with truth; for though bishop Douglas, with great acuteness, detected Lauder's interpolations in the works of different writers, which were designed to disparage Milton's reputation, he by no means undertook to prove, that Milton's claim to originality might not, in other instances, be impeached; and Lauder, though persuaded by Dr. Johnson to give up, in a hasty fit of shame, his whole Essay as an imposition, afterwards, in part, recanted his recantation, and attempted, with some success, to prove the charge of forgery against Milton. But it is time to put an end to this digression designed to vindicate Milton, as every Englishman must wish to do, where he can be vindicated without injury to truth."

To the latter part of this remark it will be proper to subjoin the words of bishop Douglas, "Grown desperate by his disappointment, this very man, [Lauder,] whom but a little before we have seen as abject in the confession of his forgeries, as he had been bold in the contrivance of them, with an inconsistency, equalled only by his impudence, renewed his attack upon the author of the *Paradise Lost*; and a * pamphlet, published for that purpose,

* Entitled, "King Charles I. Vindicated from the charge of

acquainted the world, that the true reason which had excited him to contrive his forgery was, because Milton had attacked the character of Charles the First, by interpolating Pamela's prayer from the *Arcadia*, in an edition of the *Icôn Basilikè*; hoping, no doubt, by this curious key to his conduct, to be received into favour, if not by the friends of truth, at least by the idolaters of the royal martyr: the zeal of this wild party-man against Milton having at the same time extended itself against his biographer, the very learned Dr. Birch, for no other reason but because he was so candid as to express his disbelief of a tradition unsupported by evidence."

I have been unable to discover whether there is any edition of Clarke's book, prior to that which is mentioned.

VI. We are now to be again gratified with the very curious researches, and ingenious deductions, of Mr. Hayley. Having observed it to be highly probable, that Andreini turned the thoughts of Milton from Alfred to Adam, as the subject of a *dramatick* composition, he thinks it possible that an Italian writer, less known than Andreini, first threw into the mind of Milton the idea of converting Adam into an *epick* personage. "I have now before

plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of forgery, and a gross imposition on the publick."

Conjectures on the origin of Paradise Lost, at the end of the Life of Milton, 2d edit. 1796, p. 264, &c.

me," he proceeds, " a literary curiosity, which my accomplished friend, Mr. Walker, to whom the literature of Ireland has many obligations, very kindly sent me, on his return from an excursion to Italy, where it happened to strike a traveller, whose mind is peculiarly awakened to elegant pursuits. The book I am speaking of is entitled *La Scena Tragica d'Adamo ed Eva, Estratta dalli primi tre capi della Sacra Genesi, e ridotta a significato Morale da Troilo Lancetta, Benacense. Venetia, 1644.* This little work is dedicated to Maria Gonzaga, Duchess of Mantua, and is nothing more than a drama in prose, of the ancient form, entitled a morality, on the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise. The author does not mention Andreini, nor has he any mixture of verse in his composition ; but, in his address to the reader, he has the following very remarkable passage : after suggesting that the Mosaick history of Adam and Eve is purely allegorical, and designed as an incentive to virtue, he says,

‘ Una notte sognai, che Moisè mi porse gratiosa esposizione, e misterioso significato con parole tali apunto :

‘ Dio fa parte all’ Huom di se stesso con l’ intervento della ragione, e dispone con infallibile sentenza, che signoreggiando in lui la medesima sopra le sensuali voglie, preservato il pomo del proprio core dalli appetiti disordinati, per guidandone di giusta obbedienza li trasforma il mondo in Paradiso.—Di questo s’io parlassi, al sicuro formarei heroico poema convenevole a semidei.’

‘ One night I dreamt that Moses explained to me the mystery, almost in these words :

‘ God reveals himself to Man by the intervention of reason, and thus infallibly ordains that reason, while she supports her sovereignty over the sensual inclinations in Man, and preserves the apple of his heart from licentious appetites, in reward of his just obedience transforms the world into Paradise.—Of this were I to speak, assuredly I might form an heroick poem worthy of demi-gods.’

“ It strikes me as possible that these last words, assigned to Moses in his vision by Troilo Lancetta, might operate on the mind of Milton like the question of Ellwood; and prove, in his prolifick fancy, a kind of rich graft on the idea he derived from Andreini, and the germ of his greatest production.

“ A sceptical critick, inclined to discountenance this conjecture, might indeed observe, it is more probable that Milton never saw a little volume not published until after his return from Italy, and written by an author so obscure, that his name does not occur in Tiraboschi’s elaborate history of Italian literature; nor in the patient Italian chronicler of poets, Quadrio, though he bestows a chapter on early dramatick compositions in prose. But the mind, that has once started a conjecture of this nature, must be weak indeed, if it cannot produce new shadows of argument in aid of a favourite hypothesis. Let me therefore be allowed to advance, as a presumptive proof of Milton’s having seen the work of Lancetta, that he makes *a similar use of Moses*, and introduces him to speak a prologue in the

sketch of his various plans for an allegorical drama. It is indeed, possible that Milton might never see the performances either of Lancetta or Andreini; yet conjecture has ground enough to conclude very fairly, that he was acquainted with both; for Andreini wrote a long allegorical drama on Paradise, and we know that the fancy of Milton first began to play with the subject according to that peculiar form of composition. Lancetta treated it also in the shape of a dramattick allegory; but said, at the same time, under the character of Moses, that the subject might form an incomparable epick poem; and Milton quitting his own hasty sketches of allegorical dramas, accomplished a work which answers to that intimation."

The following analysis of this drama has been made by Mr. Hayley.

ACT I. SCENE I. "God commemorates his creation of the heavens, the earth, and the water—determines to make Man—gives him vital spirit, and admonishes him to revere his Maker, and live innocent.

SCENE II. "RAPHAEL, MICHAEL, GABRIEL, and ANGELS. Raphael praises the works of God—the other Angels follow his example, particularly in regard to Man.

SCENE III. "God and ADAM, God gives Paradise to Adam to hold as a fief—forbids him to touch the apple—Adam promises obedience.

SCENE IV. "ADAM. Acknowledges the beneficence of God, and retires to repose in the shade.

ACT II. SCENE I. "God and ADAM. God resolves to form a companion for Adam, and does so while Adam is

sleeping—he then awakes Adam, and, presenting to him his new associate, blesses them both; then leaves them, recommending obedience to his commands.

SCENE II. “ADAM and EVE. Adam receives Eve as his wife—praises her, and entreats her to join with him in revering and obeying God—she promises submissi^{on} to his will—and intreats his instruction—he tells her the prohibitions, and enlarges on the beauties of Paradise—on his speaking of flocks, she desires to see them, and he departs to show her the various animals.

SCENE III. “LUCIFER, BELIAL, SATAN. Lucifer laments his expulsion from heaven, and meditates revenge against Man—the other Demons relate the cause of their expulsion, and stimulate Lucifer to the revenge he meditates—he resolves to employ the Serpent.

SCENE IV. “THE SERPENT, EVE, LUCIFER. The Serpent questions Eve—derides her fear and her obedience—tempts her to taste the apple—she expresses her eagerness to do so—the Serpent exults in the prospect of her perdition—Lucifer (who seems to remain as a separate person from the Serpent) expresses also his exultation, and steps aside to listen to a dialogue between Adam and Eve.

SCENE V. “EVE, ADAM. Eve declares her resolution to taste the apple, and present it to her husband—she tastes it, and expresses unusual hope and animation—she says the Serpent has not deceived her—she feels no sign of death, and presents the fruit to her husband—he reproves her—she persists in pressing him to eat—he complies—declares the fruit sweet, but begins to tremble at his own nakedness—he repents, and expresses his remorse and terrour—Eve proposes to form a covering of leaves—they retire to hide themselves in foliage.

ACT III. SCENE I. LUCIFER, BELIAL, SATAN. Lucifer exults in his success, and the other Demons applaud him.

SCENE II. “RAPHAEL, MICHAEL, GABRIEL. These good Spirits lament the fall, and retire with awe on the appearance of God.

SCENE III. "GOD, EVE, ADAM. God calls on Adam—he appears and laments his nakedness—God interrogates him concerning the tree—he confesses his offence, and accuses Eve—she blames the Serpent—God pronounces his malediction, and sends them from his presence.

SCENE IV. "RAPHAEL, EVE, and ADAM. Raphael bids them depart from Paradise—Adam laments his destiny—Raphael persists in driving them rather harshly from the garden—Adam begs that his innocent children may not suffer for the fault of their mother—Raphael replies, that not only his children, but all his race must suffer; and continues to drive them from the garden—Adam obeys—Eve laments, but soon comforts Adam—he at length departs, animating himself with the idea, that to an intrepid heart every region is a home.

SCENE V. "A CHERUB, moralizing on the creation and fall of Adam, concludes the third and last Act."

Mr. Walker, in his *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, has enlarged this analysis with some specimens of the author's style and manner, together with a fac simile of the quaint table exhibiting the "*morale esposizione*" of the work. From the same ingenious and entertaining volume we learn that, "as ^a Lancetta denominates himself Benacense, it is presumed he was a native of that part of the riviera of Salò, on the lago di Garda, which is called Tosolano, and whose inhabitants are styled Benacenses, from Benacus, the ancient name of the lake. He was, he modestly declares, neither a poet nor an orator, 'poeta non son' io, ne oratore,' but I am willing to believe he was a good man, and that it

² Hist. Mem. Appendix; p. xlviii—lvi.

^a Hist. Mem. p. 172.

was rather his virtues than his talents which recommended him to the accomplished family of Gonzaga, of which he seems to have been a protégé. Such is the deep obscurity in which this author is buried, that the most sedulous inquiry has not led to the discovery of any authentick notices concerning him. His drama is slightly mentioned by Allacci, who supposes it to be his only production."

Mr. Hayley adds, to his remarks on the dramas of Andreini and Lancetta, that Milton was probably familiar with an Italian poem, little known in England, and formed expressly on the conflict of the apostate Spirits; the *Angeleida del Sig. Erasmo di Valvasone*, Venet. 1590. Dr. Warton was of the same opinion. And Mr. Hayley has cited the verses, in which the Italian poet assigns to the Infernal Powers the invention of artillery. With this poem, I think, the mind of Milton could not but be affected. It begins :

" Io canterò del ciel l' antica guerra,
 " Per cui sola il principio, et l' uso nacque,
 " Onde tra il seme human non pur in terra,
 " Ma souente si pugna anchor sù l' acque :
 " Carcere eterno nel abisso serra
 " Quel che ne fù l' authore, et vinto giacque :
 " E i vincitori in parte eccelsa, et alma
 " Godon trionfo eterno, eterna palma."

Valvasone's description of the triumphant Angels in B. iii. is particularly interesting. The poem concludes with an animated Sonnet to the Arch-

angel Michael, preceded by the four following lines :

“ Così disse Michele, et da le pure
 “ Ciglia di Dio refulse un chiaro lampo,
 “ Che gli die segno del diuino assenso,
 “ E tutto il Ciel fù pien di gaudio immenso.”

“ *All' Arcangelo Michele.*

“ Eccelso Heroe, Campion inuitto, et Santo
 “ De l' imperio diuin, per cui pigliasti
 “ L' alta contesa, e 'l reo Dragon cacciasti
 “ Da l' auree stelle debellato, et franto ;
 “ Et hor non men giù ne l' eterno pianto,
 “ Onde ei risorger mal s' attenta, i vasti
 “ Orgogli suoi reprimi, et gli contrasti,
 “ A nostro schermo con continuo vanto ;
 “ Questi miei noui accenti, onde traluce
 “ La gran tua gloria, e 'l mio deuoto affetto,
 “ Accogli tu fin da l' empirea luce :
 “ Sieno in vece di preghi, et al cospetto
 “ Gli porta poi del sempiterno Duce,
 “ Che di sua gratia adempia il mio difetto.”

Mr. Hayley seems to think also, that Milton may be sometimes traced in the *Strage de gli Innocenti* of Marino. The late Mr. Bowle appears to have entertained a similar notion. And such was Mr. T. Warton's opinion. In the *Paradise Lost* indeed I have traced several proofs of obligation to it. It was first published at Venice in 1633 ; and consists of four books : 1. “ Sospetto d'Herode : 2. Consiglio de Satrapi : 3. Essecutione della Strage : 4. Il Limbo.” Milton has been ^b thought indebted likewise to Cra-

^b Biogr. Brit. edit. Kippis, vol. iv. p. 431.

shaw, the translator of the first of these books. I will select a few passages, therefore, from this version, which seem to have afforded some countenance to the opinion. *Sospetto d'Herode*, stanza 5. Description of Satan, Crashaw's Poems, edit. 1648, p. 59.

- " His eyes, the sullen dens of death and night,
- " Startle the dull ayre with a dismall red :
- " Such his fell glances as the fatall light
- " Of staring comets, that looke kingdomes dead.—
- " He shooke himselfe, and spread his spacious wings ;
- " Which, like two bosom'd sailes, embrace the dimme
- " Aire, with a dismall shade ; but all in vaine ;
- " Of sturdy adamant is his strong chaine."

Part of his speech : st. 28.

- " And should we Powers of Heaven, Spirits of worth,
- " Bow our bright heads before a king of clay?
- " It shall not be, said I, and clombe the North,
- " Where never wing of Angell yet made way.
- " What though I mist my blow? yet I strooke high ;
- " And, to dare something, is some victory.—

31.

- " Ah wretch ! what bootes thee to cast back thy eyes,
- " Where dawning hope no beame of comfort shoves ?
- " While the reflection of thy forepast joys,
- " Renders thee double to thy present woes ;
- " Rather make up to thy new miseries,
- " And meete the mischiefes that upon thee growes.
- " If Hell must mourne, Heaven sure shall sympathize :
- " What force cannot effect, fraud shall devise.

32.

- " And yet whose force feare I? have I so lost
- " Myselfe? my strength too with my innocence ?

" Come, try who dares, Heaven, Earth; whate'er dost boast
 " A borrow'd being; make thy bold defence:
 " Come thy Creator too; what though it cost
 " Me yet a second fall? we'd try our strengths.
 " Heaven saw us struggle once; as brave a fight
 " Earth now should see, and tremble at the sight.

33.

" Thus spoke the impatient Prince, and made a pause:
 " His fowle hags rais'd their heads, and clapt their hands;
 " And all the Powers of Hell, in full applause,
 " Flourisht their snakes, and tost their flaming brands.
 " We, said the horrid sisters, wait thy lawes,
 " The obsequitious handmaids of thy high commands:
 " Be it thy part, Hell's mighty lord, to lay
 " On us thy dread commands; ours to obey.

34.

" What thy Alecto, what these hands, can doe,
 " Thou mad'st bold prooffe upon the brow of Heaven;
 " Nor should'st thou bate in pride, because that now
 " To these thy sooty kingdoms thou art driven.
 " Let Heaven's Lord chide above, lowder than thou,
 " In language of his thunder; thou art even
 " With him below: Here thou art lord alone
 " Boundlesse and absolute: Hell is thine owne."

That Crashaw and Milton should concur in similar sentiments and expressions, when Marino dictates to both, can be a matter of little surprise. But, when we compare the passages in Milton which may be considered as harmonizing with these in Crashaw, we shall not hesitate to declare that, in bold and glowing phraseology, as well as in beautiful and expressive numbers, the palm, due to the improvement of the original, belongs to the former. Nor shall we

forget the hints from *Æschylus* and *Dante*, which *Milton* finely interweaves in the character of his Prince of darkness. *Milton*, no doubt, had read *Crashaw's* translation; as he had read the translations also of *Ariosto* and *Tasso* by *Harington* and *Fairfax*; to various passages in which he has, in like manner, added new graces resulting from his own imagination and judgement. There are also a few resemblances in *Crashaw's* poetry to passages in *Milton*, which I have had occasion to notice. *Crashaw* too, I may add, is entitled to the merit of suggesting the combination and form of several happy phrases to *Pope*. Of a poet, thus distinguished, I take this opportunity to subjoin a few particulars from the unpublished manuscript of his fellow-collegian, *Dr. John Bargrave*. “^c When I went first of my 4 times to *Rome*, there were there 4 revolvers to the *Roman Church*, that had binn fellows of *Peterhouse* in *Cambridge* with my selfe. The name of one of them was *Mr. R. Crashaw*, whoe was of the *Seguita* (as their tearme is), that is, an attendant, or one of the followers of *Cardinall Palotta*, for which he had a salary of crownes by the month, (as the custome is,) but no dyet. *Mr. Crashaw* infinitely commended his *Cardinall*, but complayned extreamely of the wickedness of those of his retinue, of which he, having his *Cardinall's* eare, complayned to him; vpon which the *Italians* fell so farr owt with him, that the

^c After the restoration of *Charles II.* *Dr. Bargrave* became *Prebendary of Canterbury*, to the Library of which Cathedral he gave many books, &c. See the *Life of Milton*, &c; p. 37.

Cardinall, to secure his life, was faine to putt him from his service; and, procuring him some smale imploy at the Lady's of Loretto, whither he went in pilgrimage in summer time, and overheating himselfe dyed in few weeks after he came thither; and it was doubtfull whether he were not poysoned."—

Mr. Hayley notices the existence also of the following pieces relating to Milton's subject :

i. Adamo Caduto, tragedia sacra, di Serafino della Sallandra. Cozenzo, 1647. 8vo.

ii. La Battaglia Celeste tra Michele e Lucifero, di Antonio Alfani, Palermitano. Palermo, 1568. 4to.

iii. Dell' Adamo di Giovanni Soranzo, Genova, 1604. 12mo.

They had, however, escaped the researches of Mr. Hayley. Signor Signorelli, the learned and elegant correspondent of Mr. Walker on subjects connected with his ^d *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, published in 1799, had not then seen them. Whether Milton had perused them, must therefore be a matter of future inquiry. But Mr. Walker has observed, that all the commentators pass over the obligations of Milton to the *Gerusalemme Distrutta* of Marino. From the seventh canto, which is ^e all that is printed, and which is subjoined to two small editions of the *Strage de gli Innocenti* in his possession, Mr. Walker has made a few extracts; and I have found

^d See the Hist. Mem. Appendix, p. xxxiii.

^e Ibid. p. xxxvi.

them certainly applicable to some descriptions in the *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Hayley further notices the probable attention of Milton to Tasso's '*Le Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato*'; and Dr. Warton agreed with him. Tasso, like Milton, follows indeed almost the very words of Scripture in relating the commands of God on the several days of the Creation. The poem is in blank verse. I submit to the reader the following pious address:

“ Dimmi, qual opra alhora, ò qual riposo
 “ Fosse ne la Diuina, e Sacra Mente
 “ In quel d' eternita felice stato.
 “ E 'n qual ignota parte, e'n quale idea
 “ Era l' essempro tuo, Celeste Fabro,
 “ Quando facesti à te la Reggia, e 'l Tempio.
 “ Tu, che 'l sai, tu 'l riuela: e chiare, e conte
 “ Signor, per me fà l' opre, i modi, e l' arti.
 “ Signor, tu se' la mano, io son la cetra,
 “ La qual mossa da te, con dolci tempore
 “ Di soave armonia, risuona; e molce
 “ D' adamantino smalto i duri affetti.
 “ Signor, tu se' lo spirto, io roca tromba
 “ Son per me stesso à la tua gloria; e langue,
 “ Se non m' ispiri tu, la voce, e 'l suono.”

In the preceding verses Milton's address to the Holy Spirit, “ Instruct me, for thou know'st” is

Dr. Warton mentions only the edition of Viterbo, in 1607. There had been an earlier edition thus entitled, “*I due primi Giorni del Mondo Creato, Poesia sacra.*” Venet. 1600, 4to. And there have been several later; *Le sette Giornate* &c. 12mo. Milan. 1608, Venet. 1609, and Venet. 1637, ult. impress. ricorretta.

perhaps observable. They close also with a similar sentiment to his invocation of the same assistance in his *Paradise Regained*, B. i. 11.

“Thou Spirit, ————— inspire,
“As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute.”

VII. A later observation respecting the origin of *Paradise Lost* has been submitted to the publick by Mr. Dunster, in “Considerations on Milton’s early reading, and the *prima stamina* of *Paradise Lost*,” 1800. The object of these “Considerations” is to prove that Milton became, at a very early period of his life, enamoured of Joshua Sylvester’s translation of the French poet, Du Bartas. Lauder had asserted long since that Milton was indebted to Sylvester’s translation for “numberless fine thoughts, besides his low trick of playing upon words, and his frequent use of technical terms. From him,” he adds, “Milton has borrowed many elegant phrases, and single words, which were thought to be peculiar to him, or rather coined by him; such as *palpable darkness*, and a thousand others.” Lauder has also said, that Phillips, Milton’s nephew, “every where, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, either wholly passes over in silence such authors as Milton was most obliged to, or, if he chances to mention them, does it in the most slight and superficial manner imaginable: *Du Bartas* alone excepted.” But *Sylvester* is also highly commended, in this work for his translation. Mr. Hayley well observes, in apology, for other omissions of Phillips, “which are too frequent to be con-

sidered as accidental, that he probably chose not to enumerate various poems relating to Angels, to Adam, and to Paradise, lest ignorance and malice should absurdly consider the mere existence of such poetry as a derogation from the glory of Milton."

Lauder adds, that there is "a commentary on this work, called *A Summary of Du Bartas*, a book full of prodigious learning, and many curious observations on all arts and sciences; from whence Milton has derived a multiplicity of fine hints, scattered up and down his poem, especially in philosophy and theology." This book was printed in folio, in 1621; and is recommended, in the title-page, as "fitt for the learned to refresh their memories, and for younger students to abbreviate and further their studies." From this pretended garden of sweets I can collect no nosegay. It cannot indeed be supposed that Milton, when he wrote the *Paradise Lost*, was so imperfectly acquainted with the purer sources of knowledge, as to be indebted to such a volume.

That Milton, however, had read the translation of *Du Bartas*, has been admitted by his warmest admirers, Dr. Farmer, Mr. Bowle, Mr. T. Warton, and Mr. Headley. A slight remark, which the editor of these volumes long since ventured to make, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, respecting Milton's ac-

* See November 1796, p. 900. See also Mr. Dunster's Con-

quaintance with the poetry of Sylvester, attracted the notice of the author of the *Considerations* &c. just mentioned; and appears to have stimulated his desire to know more of the forgotten bard. Mr. Dunster, therefore, having procured an edition of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, drew up his ingenious volume; and, with no less elegance of language than liberality of opinion, pointed out the taste and judgment of Milton in availing himself of particular passages in that book. With honourable affection for the fame of Milton, he observes, that "nothing can be further from my intention than to insinuate that Milton was a plagiarist or servile imitator; but I conceive that, having read these sacred poems of very high merit, at the immediate age when his own mind was just beginning to teem with poetry, he retained numberless thoughts, passages, and expressions therein, so deeply in his mind, that they hung inherently on his imagination, and became as it were naturalized there. Hence many of them were afterwards insensibly transfused into his own compositions."—Sylvester's *Du Bartas* was also a popular book when Milton began to write poetry; it was published in the very street in which Milton's father then lived; Sylvester was certainly, as was probably Humphry Lownes the printer of the book, puri-

siderations, &c. p. 3. I take this opportunity of adding, that Dr. Farmer's remark occurs in a Note on the "*married calm of states*," in *Troilus and Cressida*. See Steevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. xi. p. 254.

I may observe that the folio edition of Spenser's *Faerie*

tanically inclined ; Milton's family, professing the same religious opinions, would powerfully recommend to the young student the perusal of this work : By such inferences, added to the preceding remark, the reader is led to acknowledge the successful manner, in which Mr. Dunster has accomplished his design ; namely, to show Milton's " early acquaintance with, and predilection for, Sylvester's *Du Bartas*." I am persuaded, however, that Milton must have sometimes closed the volume with extreme disgust ; and that he then sought gratification in the strains of his kindred poets, of Spenser, and of Shakspeare ; or of those, whose style was not barbarous like Sylvester's, the enticing Drummond, the learned and affecting Drayton, and several other bards of that period ; as may be gathered from expressions even in his earliest performances. But, to resume Mr. Dunster's observation respecting the origin of *Paradise Lost* : Sylvester's *Du Bartas* " contains, indeed, more material *prima stamina* of the *Paradise Lost*, than, as I believe, any other book whatever : and *my hypothesis* is, that it positively *laid the first stone* of that ' monumentum ære perennius.' That Arthur for a time predominated in Milton's mind over his, at

Queene, and of his other poems, in 1611, came from the press of *Humphry Lowndes* ; the date at the end of the *Faerie Queen* is, however, 1612. In 1611 also *Humphry Lowndes* printed the second edition of the little volume, from which I shall presently have occasion to make an extract or two, entitled " *Stafford's Niobe* : or his age of teares. A Treatise no lesse profitable and comfortable then the times damnable," &c. 12mo.

length preferred, sacred subject, was probably owing to the advice of Manso, and the track of reading into which he had then got. How far the *Adamo* of Andreini, or the *Scena Tragica d'Adamo et Eva* of Lancetta, as pointed out by Mr. Hayley; or any of the Italian poems on such subjects, noticed by Mr. Walker; contributed to revive his predilection for sacred poesy, it is beside my purpose to inquire. If he was materially *caught* by any of these, it served, I conceive, only to renew a *primary impression* made on his mind by Sylvester's *Du Bartas*: although the Italian dramas might induce him then to *meditate* his divine Poem in a *dramatick* form. It is, indeed, justly observed by Mr. Warton, on the very fine passage, ver. 33, of the *Vacation Exercise*, written when Milton was only nineteen, 'that it contains strong indications of a young mind anticipating the subject of *Paradise Lost*.'—Cowley found himself to be a poet, or, as he himself tells us, 'was made one,' by the delight he took in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, 'which was wont to lay in his mother's apartment;' and which he had read all over, before he was twelve years old. That Dryden was, in some degree, similarly indebted to Cowley, we may collect from his denominating him 'the darling of my youth, the famous Cowley.' Pope, at a little more than eight years of age, was initiated in poetry by the perusal of Ogilby's Homer and Sandys's Ovid; and to the latter he has himself intimated obligations, where he declares in his Notes to the *Iliad*, 'that English poetry owes much of its present beauty to

the translations of Sandys.' The *rudimenta poetica* of our great poet I suppose similarly to have been Sylvester's *Du Bartas*; which, I conceive, not only elicited the first sparks of poetick fire from the pubescent genius of Milton, but induced him, from that time, to devote himself principally to sacred poesy, and to select *Urania* for his immediate Muse,

————— ' magno percussus amore,'"

While I agree with Mr. Dunster, that Milton has adopted several thoughts and expressions from Sylvester, I must observe that, although the poem of *Du Bartas* treats largely of the Creation of the World and the Fall of Man, the *Origin of Paradise Lost* may not perhaps be absolutely attributed to that work. "Smit with the love of sacred song," Milton, I apprehend, might be influenced, in his "*long choosing and beginning late*," by other effusions of sacred poesy, in the language which he loved, and in the epick form, on similar subjects; besides those of Dante, of Tasso, and of the Italian poets already mentioned. In the following list the Muses of Spain and Portugal also will be found to have chosen congenial themes.

i. Discorso in versi della Creazione del Mondo sino alla Venuta di Gesù Cristo, per Antonio Cornozano. 4^o. 1472.

ii. Della Creatione del Mondo, Poema Sacro, del Sig. Gasparo Mvrtola. Giorni sette, Canti sedici. 12^{mo}. Venet. 1608.

iii. Epamerone, ovvero l' opera de sei Giorni, Poema di Don Felice Passero. 12^{mo}. Venet. 1609.

iv. Creacion del Mundo, Poema Espagnol, por el Doctor Alonzo de Azevedo. 8^{vo}. en Roma, 1615.

v. Da Creação et Complicação do Homem, Cantos tres por Luis de Camoens, em Verso Portugues. 4^o. em Lisboa 1615. Rimas 2^{da}. Parte.—Paris, 12^{mo}. 1759.

The first of these poems is noticed by Baretti in his *Italian Library*, p. 58; who also mentions an epick poem, first printed in Sicily, and since at Milan, of which he had forgotten the dates, entitled “*L’ Adamo del Campailla*. It is a philosophical poem, much admired by the followers of the Cartesian system, who were very numerous when the author wrote it.” *Ib.*, p. 66. Baretti also mentions another epick poem “*Le sei Giornate*, di Sebastiano Erizzo. *The six Days*, that is, the Creation performed in six days,” &c. *Ib.* p. 64. But this is a mistake. *Le sei Giornate* of Erizzo is neither a poem, nor at all connected with the history of the Creation. It is a series of novels: “*Le sei giornate, nelle quali sotto diuersi fortunati et infelici auenimenti, da sei giouani raccontati, si contengono ammaestramenti nobili et utili di morale Filosofia*”¹.

The second of the before-mentioned poems is in my possession; and I have more than once found distant assimilation in it to passages in the *Paradise Lost*.

The three next are mentioned by Mr. Bowle,

¹ Proemio, p. 1.—This work of Sebastian Erizzo was printed at Venice, in quarto, by Giouan-Varisco, &c. in 1567.

together with the preceding poem; as also with the *Adamos* of Andreini, Soranzo, and Serafino della Salandra, and with the *Angeleida* of Valvasone; in ^k his manuscript Notes on Lauder's Essay. He has added a reference to the following work, which might not be unknown to Milton,

vi. Il Caso di Lucifero, di Amico Aguilfo. Crescimbeni, 4. 126,

To which may be subjoined another poem that might have attracted the great poet's notice, as it is pronounced by Baretti to be little inferior to Dante himself.

vii. Il Quadriregio, sopra i regni d' Amore, di Satanasso, dei vizi, e delle virtù, di Mons. F. Frezzi Vescovo di Foligno. fol. Perug. 1481.

I may venture also to point out

viii. La Vita et Passione di Christo, &c. composta per Antonio Cornozano, in terza rima. Venet. 1518. 12^{mo}.

In which the second chapter of the first book is entitled "De la creatione del mondo."

ix. La Humanita del Figliuolo di Dio, in ottava rima, per Theofilo Folengo, Mantoano. Venegia. 1533. 4^o.

In ten books: in the second of which Adam and Eve are particularly noticed. Dr. Burney, in his History of Musick, has considered the sacred drama of *II*

^k Formerly the property of the late Richard Gough, Esq; to whom I was much indebted for the use of the book.

Gran Natale di Christo by the elder Cicognini, as possibly subservient to Milton's plan. There is also a poem of ¹ P. Antonio Glielmo, Milton's contemporary, entitled *Il Diluvio del Mondo*; and there are the *Mondo Desolato* of the "shepherd-boy," G. D. Peri, (the author also of the epick poem, *Fiesole Distrutta*.) and the *Giudicio Estremo* of Toldo Costantini; both published ^m before Milton perhaps had determined the subject of his song.

The writer of the article of *Pona* (*François*) in the *Nouveau Dict. Hist. à Caen*, edit. 1786, says that Pona published "*L'Adamo, poema, 1664.*" The *Adamo* by this writer is not, however, a poem, although abounding with poetical expressions, but a history, in three books, of the Creation and of our first parents. The publication was too late for Milton to profit by it. But there are some thoughts in it, to which in the ninth book of the *Paradise Lost* a resemblance or two occur. Pona was an author not a little admired in Italy: he died in 1652. Loredano, in a letter to him, says " ^a L'ingegno di V. S. è un giardino di Paradiso, ove non nascono che fiori immortali. Tale hò riconosciuto l'angelico." Loredano himself has also written an Italian Life of *Adam*, printed at Venice in 1640; translated into

¹ He died in 1644. See *Elogii d' Huomini Letterati*, scritti da Lorenzo Crasso, parte sec. Venet. 1666, p. 287.

^m The former in 1637; and I believe there is an earlier edition: the latter in 1648.

^a *Lettres de Loredano*, edit. Bruxelles, 1708, p. 88.

English in 1659; and next in 1779 by Richard Murray, A.M. and J.U.B. with a Dedication to the Reverend Dr. Baldwin, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin: in which the translator makes the following assertion. "The noble Venetian, who was the author of this performance originally, had no occasion to court the sanction of an illustrious name for his protection. The novelty of Adam's story, in a country where the Scriptures are forbidden, must have recommended him; but it's the patronage of one eminent for learning must apologize for the publishing a Divine Romance in the British nation; for so Milton, the great ornament of English poetry, calls it, and *acknowledges to have received some of his finest hints from this Work*. Though my author is here and there guilty of almost inexcusable puerilities, and impertinent reflections; yet if we consider his virtues, and the many fine pictures which he originally delineated for the masterly hand of his successor, Milton, to colour and finish; we must forget his faults, and ascribe them to no defect in his genius, but to the mistaken notions of the Italians concerning the true Sublime; a crime, which may, with justice, be imputed to some of their best productions." Where Milton has made the preceding acknowledgement, Mr. Murray has not informed us. However, I examined the work of Loredano with greater eagerness and attention, after I had met with this remarkable assertion; and was enabled, in consequence, to express my opinion, that some passages in this Italian biography may perhaps be con-

sidered as affording suggestions of scenery and description to the English poet. To the *Adamo* of Loredano, I may add, as a work which probably did not escape the notice of Milton, "*L'Eva di Federico Malipiero*, 12mo. Venet. 1640." For to some parts of this obscure and forgotten production a trifling resemblance or two may be traced.

It is not improbable that Pona and Loredano were acquainted with Milton; that they were among those discerning persons, who "in the private academies of Italy, whither," the poet tells us, "he was favoured to resort," fostered his blooming genius by their approbation and encouragement. Loredano was the founder of the *Accademia degli Incogniti*. His house at Venice was the constant resort of learned men. Gaddi, an Italian friend whom Milton names, and who has^p celebrated the foundation of the academy, would hardly fail to introduce the young Englishman to the founder of it, if by no other means he had become known to him.

Italy, then, will probably be thought to have confirmed, if not to have excited, the design of Milton to sing "Man's disobedience, and the mortal taste of the forbidden fruit."

* See the Preface to his *Church Government*, B. ii. and his *Epitaph. Damon*. v. 133, &c.

^p See *Jacobi Gaddii Adlocutiones, et Elogia, &c.* Florentiæ, 1636, 4to. p. 38.

Yet a very learned and interesting writer has questioned the propriety of ascribing such honour to Italy. "If we are to refer Milton's work," says Mr. ¹ Turner, "to any other suggestion than to his own piety and to the Scriptures, there seems much more reason to give the honour to our venerable Cedmon, than to the heterogeneous comedy of Andreini, which there is no proof that Milton ever read, and the beginning of which could only disgust his correct taste. Indeed, if we recollect our old mysteries on the same subjects, there appears still less occasion to go to Italy in search of that which we may find at home." Whether the reader will subscribe entirely to this opinion, I greatly doubt; but I am certain he will be highly gratified by the extracts drawn with taste and ingenuity, by Mr. Turner, from the venerable Anglo-Saxon poetical narration. I must first observe, that this supposed obligation of Milton to Cedmon was also long since mentioned, and at the same time questioned. "I hope your translator," says the learned bishop Nicholson to Humphrey Wanley, in 1705, "will oblige us with the reasons of his opinion (if he still continues in it) that a good part of Milton's *Paradise* was borrowed from Cedmon's. I can hardly think these two poets under the direction of the same spirit; and I never could find (I think his Introduction to our English History rather evinces the contrary) that Oliver's secretary was so great a

¹ Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, 2d edit. 4to. 1807. Preface, and Vol. ii. 309, seq.

master of the Saxon language, as to be able to make Cedmon's paraphrase his own'." We now revert to Mr. Turner.

"Various speculations," he observes, "have been made on the sources to which Milton has been indebted for the subject of his great poem. The extracts, cited from our Cedmon, shew that this ancient poet has anticipated somewhat of the Miltonick character and agency of Satan. It is also remarkable that both Cedmon and Milton begin their poems with stating the fall of Satan, and his expulsion from Heaven. Cedmon's paraphrase was printed by Junius, who lived much in England in 1655. Milton is said by Aubrey to have begun his *Paradise Lost* two years before the restoration, or in 1658. It is presumed to have been finished in 1665, and its first edition appeared in 1667. As our immortal poet wrote the history of the Anglo-Saxon times, and in that quotes a Saxon document, the *Saxon Chronicle*, we may believe him to have been interested by such an important part of their literature as Cedmon's paraphrase, which, though printed at Amsterdam, must, from the connections of Junius, who had the MSS. from Archbishop Usher, have been much known in England. Cedmon's poem is, in the first part, a *Paradise Lost*, in rude miniature. It contains the fall of the angels, the creation, the temptation of Eve, and the expulsion from Paradise. In

its first topick, the fall of the angels, it exhibits much of a Miltonick spirit; and if it were clear that our illustrious bard had been familiar with Saxon, we should be induced to think that he owed something to the paraphrase of Cedmon. No one at least can read Cedmon without feeling the idea intruding upon his mind. As the subject is curious, I shall make no apology for very copious extracts from Cedmon, translated as literally as possible :

“ On the Fall of the Angels.

“ To us it is much right
that we the Ruler of the firmament,
the Glory-King of Hosts,
with words should praise,
with minds should love.
He is in power abundant,
High Head of all creatures,
Almighty Lord !
There was not to him ever beginning
nor origin made ;
nor now end cometh.
Eternal Lord !
But he will be always powerful
over heaven's stools *,
in high majesty,
truth-fast and very strenuous,
Ruler of the bosoms of the sky !
Then were they set
wide and ample,
thro' God's power,

for the children of glory,
for the guardians of spirits.
They had joy and splendor,
and their beginning-origin,
the hosts of angels ;
bright bliss was their great fruit.
The glory-fast thegns
praised the King :
they said willingly praise
to their Life-Lord ;
they obeyed his domination with
virtues.

They were very happy ;
sins they knew not ;
nor to frame crimes :
but they in peace lived
with their Eternal Elder.
Otherwise they began not
to rear in the sky,
except right and truth,
before the Ruler of the angels,
for pride divided them in error.

* “ I use the term in the original, because such expressions as have any allusion to ancient manners should always be preserved.”

They would not prolong
council for themselves !
but they from self-love
throw off God's.

They had much pride
that they against the Lord
would divide
the glory-fast place,
the majesty of their hosts,
the wide and bright sky.

To him their grief happened,
envy, and pride ;
to that angel's mind
that this ill counsel
began first to frame,
to weave and wake.

Then he words said,
darkened with iniquity,
that he in the north part
a home and high seat
of heaven's kingdom
would possess.

Then was God angry,
and with the host wrath
that he before esteemed
illustrious and glorious.
He made for those perfidious
an exiled home,
a work of retribution,
Hell's groans and hard hatreds.
Our Lord commanded the pu-
nishment-house
for the exiles to abide,
deep, joyless,
the rulers of spirits.

When he it ready knew
with perpetual night foul,
sulphur including,
over it full fire

and extensive cold,
with smoke and red flame,
he commanded them over
the mansion, void of council,
to increase the terror-punish-
ment.

They had provoked accusa-
tion ;
grim against God gathered to-
gether,
to them was grim retribution
come.

They said, that they the king-
dom
with fierce mind would possess,
and so easily might.
Them the hope deceived,
after the Governor,
the high King of Heaven,
his hands upreared.
He pursued against the crowd ;
nor might the void of mind,
vile against their Maker,
enjoy might.
Their loftiness of mind departed,
their pride was diminished.

Then was he angry ;
he struck his enemies
with victory and power,
with judgement and virtue,
and took away joy :
peace from his enemies,
and all pleasure :
Illustrious Lord !
and his anger wreaked
on the enemies greatly,
in their own power
deprived of strength.

He had a stern mind,

grimly provoked ;
 he seized in his wrath
 on the limbs of his enemies,
 and them in pieces broke,
 wrathful in mind.
 He deprived of their country
 his adversaries,
 from the stations of glory
 he made and cut off,
 Our Creator !
 the proud race of angels from
 heav'n ;
 the faithless host.
 The Governor sent
 the hated army
 on a long journey,
 with mourning speech.

To them was glory lost,
 their threats broken,
 their majesty curtailed,
 stained in splendor ;
 they in exile afterwards
 pressed on their black way.
 They needed not loud to laugh ;
 but they in Hell's torments
 weary remained, and knew
 woe,
 sad and sorry :
 they endured sulphur,
 covered with darkness,
 a heavy recompence,
 because they had begun
 to fight against God.

Ced. p. 1, 2.—

“ But that part of Cedmon which is the most original product of his own fancy, is his account of Satan's hostility. To us, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton has made this subject peculiarly interesting ; and as it will be curious to see how an old Saxon poet has previously treated it, we shall give another copious extract. Some of the touches bring to mind a few of Milton's conceptions. But in Cedmon the finest thoughts are abruptly introduced, and very roughly and imperfectly expressed. In Milton the same ideas are detailed in all the majesty of his diction, and are fully displayed with that vigour of intellect in which he has no superior.

“ The universal Ruler had
 of the angelic race,
 through his hand-power,

The holy Lord !
 a fortress established.
 To them he well trusted

that they his service
would follow,
would do his will.
For this he gave them under-
standing,
and with his hands made them.
The Holy Lord
had stationed them
so happily.

One he had so
strongly made,
so mighty,
in his mind's thought ;
he let him rule so much ;
the highest in heaven's king-
dom ;
he had made him
so splendid ;
so beautiful
was his fruit in heaven,
which to him came
from the Lord of Hosts ;
that he was like
the brilliant stars.

Praise ought he
to have made to his Lord ;
he should have valued dear
his joys in heaven ;
he should have thanked his Lord
for the bounty which
in that brightness he shared ;
when he was permitted
so long to govern.

But he departed from it

to a worse thing.
He began to upheave strife
against the Governor
of the highest heaven,
that sits on the holy seat.
Dear was he to our Lord ;
from whom it could not be hid,
that his angel began
to be over proud.

He raised himself
against his Master ;
he sought inflaming speeches ;
he began vainglorious words ;
he would not serve God ;
he said he was his equal
in light and shining ;
as white and as bright in
hue.

Nor could he find it in his
mind
to render obedience
to his God,
to his King.

He thought in himself
that he could have subjects
of more might and skill
than the Holy God.

Spake many words
this angel of pride.
He thought through his own
craft
that he could make
a more stronglike seat,
higher in the heavens.

“ Satan is represented as uttering this soliloquy,
which begins with doubting about his enterprise, but
ends in a determination to pursue it :

“ Why should I contend ?
 I cannot have
 any creature for my superior !
 I may with my hands
 so many wonders work !
 and I must have great power
 to acquire a more godlike stool,
 higher in the heavens !

Yet why should I
 sue for his grace ?
 or bend to him
 with any obedience ?
 I may be
 a god, as he is.
 Stand by me,
 strong companions !
 who will not deceive me
 in this contention.
 Warriors of hardy mind !

they have chosen me
 for their superior ;
 illustrious soldiers !
 with such, indeed,
 one may take counsel !
 with such folk
 may seize a station !
 My earnest friends they are,
 faithful in the effusions of their
 mind.

I may, as their leader,
 govern in this kingdom.
 So I think it not right,
 nor need I
 flatter any one,
 as if to any gods
 a god inferior.
 I will no longer
 remain his subject[†].

“ After narrating the consequent anger of the Deity,
 and the defeat and expulsion of Satan, the poet thus
 describes his abode in the infernal regions :

“ The fiend, with all his fol-
 lowers,
 fell then out of heaven ;
 during the space
 of three nights and days ;
 the angels from heaven
 into hell ; and them all
 the Lord turned into devils :
 because that they
 his deed and word
 would not reverence.
 For this, into a worse light

under the earth beneath
 the Almighty God
 placed them, defeated ;
 in the black hell.
 There have they for ever,
 for an immeasurable length,
 each of the fiends,
 fire always renewed.
 There comes at last
 the eastern wind,
 the cold frost
 mingling with the fires.

[†] i. e. his younger.

Always fire or arrows,
some hard tortures,
they must have :
it was made for their punishment.

Their world was turned round.
Hell was filled
with execrations.—

They suffer the punishment
of their battle against their
Ruler ;
the fierce torrents of fire

in the midst of hell :
brands and broad flames ;
so likewise bitter smoke,
vapour, and darkness.—

They were all fallen
to the bottom of that fire
in the hot hell,
thro' their folly and pride.
Sought they other land,
it was all void of light,
and full of fire,
a great journey of fire.—

“ Another of Satan's speeches may be cited :

“ Then spake the overproud
king,
that was before
of angels the most shining ;
the whitest in heaven ;
by his Master beloved,
to his Lord endeared ;
till he turned to evil—
Satan said,
with sorrowing speech—

Is this the narrow place,
unlike, indeed, to the others
which we before knew,
high in heaven's kingdom,
that my Master puts me in ?
But those we must not have,
by the Omnipotent
deprived of our kingdom.
He hath not done us right,
that he hath filled us
with fire to the bottom
of this hot hell,
and taken away heaven's king-
dom.

He hath marked that
with mankind
to be settled.
This is to me the greatest sorrow,
that Adam shall,
he that was made of earth,
my stronglike stool possess.
He is to be thus happy,
while we suffer punishment ;
misery in this hell !
Oh that I had free
the power of my hands,
and might for a time
be out ;
for one winter's space,
I and my army !
but iron bonds
lay around me !
knots of chains press me down !
I am kingdomless !
hell's fetters
hold me so hard,
so fast encompass me !
Here are mighty flames

above and beneath ;
 I never saw
 a more hateful landscape.
 This fire never languishes ;
 hot over hell,
 encircling rings,
 biting manacles,
 forbid my course.
 My army is taken from me,
 my feet are bound,
 my hands imprisoned !—
 Thus hath God confined me.
 Hence I perceive
 that he knows my mind.
 The Lord of Hosts
 likewise knows
 that Adam should from us

suffer evil
 about heaven's kingdom,
 if I had the power of my hands.—
 He hath now marked out
 a middle region ;
 where he hath made man
 after his likeness.
 From him he will
 again settle
 the kingdom of heaven
 with pure souls.
 We should to this end
 diligently labour,
 that we on Adam,
 if we ever may,
 and on his offspring,
 work some revenge.

“ After explaining his plan of seducing Adam to disobedience, he adds,

“ If, when king,
 to any of my thegns
 I formerly gave treasures ;
 when we in that good kingdom
 sat happy,
 and had the power of our
 thrones ;
 when he to me,
 in that beloved time,
 could give no recompence,
 to repay my favour ;
 let him now again,
 some one of my thegns,
 become my helper,
 that he may escape hence
 thro' these barriers ;
 that he with wings may fly,

may wind into the sky,
 to where Adam and Eve
 stand created on the earth.—
 If any of you
 could by any means change
 them,
 that they God's word ;
 his command would neglect,
 soon they to him
 would become odious.
 If Adam break thro'
 his obedience,
 then with them would the
 Supreme
 become enraged,
 and award their punishment.
 Strive ye all for this,

how ye may deceive them !	a reward shall be ready—
Then shall I repose softly,	I will set him
even in these bonds.	near to myself.
To him that succeeds	Cedm. 6—11."——

An old English mystery also has been " lately cited, as a rude dramattick outline of the subject of the *Paradise Lost*; but the speeches of *Deus* and of *Lucifer*, which have been extracted from it, afford not a ray of assimilation to Milton.

Mr. Bowle, in his catalogue of poets who have treated Milton's subject before him, mentions Alcimius Avitus, archbishop of Vienna, who wrote a poem, in Latin hexameters, *De Initio Mundi, et primorum Parentum Creatione*; but offers little else respecting it. Possibly some of the sentiments and expressions, in this poem, might arrest the notice of Milton. In the notes on *Paradise Lost*, an example or two, in support of this supposition, will be found. The reader may not here be displeased with the extensive description which this author has given of Satan's reflection on the happiness he had lost, his envy on beholding our first parents, and his determination of drawing them into his own miserable state. Lib. ii. cap. 3.

" Plus doluit periisse sibi, quod possidet alter.

" Tunc mixtus cum felle pudor sic pectore questus

" Explicat, et tali suspiria voce relaxat.

" Proh dolor! hoc nobis subitum consurgere plasma,

" Galt's Life of Wolsey, 1824, p. 268.

- " Invisúmque genus nostra crevisse ruina ?
 " Me celsum virtus habuit ; nunc ecce neglectus
 " Pellor, et angelico limus succedit honori :
 " Cælum terra tenet, vili compage levata
 " Regnat humus ; nobisque perit translata potestas.
 " Nec tamen in totum periit ; pars magna retentat
 " Vim propriam ; summáque cluet virtute nocendi.
 " Nil differre juvat : jam nunc certamine blando
 " Congrediar, dum prima salus, experta nec ullos.
 " Simplicitas ignava dolos ad tela pavebit.
 " Nam melius soli capientur fraude, priusquam
 " Fœcundam mittant æterna in secula prolem.
 " Nil immortale è terra prodire sinendum est :
 " Fons generis pereat ; capitis defectio membris
 " Semen mortis erit ; pariat discrimina leti
 " Vitæ principium ; cuncti feriantur in uno :
 " Non faciet vivum radix occisa cacumen !
 " Hæc mihi dejecto tantùm solatia restant :
 " Si nequeo clausos iterum conscendere cœlos,
 " His quoque claudentur : levius cecidisse putandum est
 " Si nova perdatür simili substantia casu.
 " Sit comes excidii, subeat consortia pœnæ ;
 " Et quos prævideo nobiscum dividat ignes !
 " Sed ne difficilis fallendi causa putetur
 " Hæc monstranda via est, dudum quam sæpe cucurri
 " In pronum lapsus : quæ me jactantia cœlo
 " Expulit, hæc hominem paradisi è limine pellat !"

Then follows his assuming the form of the serpent, and his temptation of Eve preceded by a most flattering commendation of her beauty. Phillips, in his * account of this author, adds the name of Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetorician of Marseilles, who also wrote upon *Genesis* in hexameters. The produc-

* Theat. Poet. edit. 1675. Ancient Poets, p. 12.

tions of these two poets were published together in a small quarto at Paris in 1545, and afterwards. I find, in the composition of Victor, nothing worthy of citation.

Pantaleon Candidus, a German poet, has a copy of verses, I observe, in his *Loci communes theologici*, &c. Basil. 8vo. 1570, p. 24, entitled *Lapsus Adæ*; and in a nuptial hymn, in the same volume, p. 110, he has painted the creation of Eve in lines not unworthy the attention of Milton.

“ Ergo, novum molitus opus, Pater ipse profundum
 “ Instillat somnum, cui jam in tellure jacenti
 “ Eximit insertam lato sub pectore costam,
 “ Explens carne locum, sed enim pulcherrima visu
 “ Fœmina, quæ donis superaret quicquid in orbe est,
 “ Exoritur; qualis primo cùm Lucifer ortu
 “ Evehit auricomum gemmatâ luce nitorem.
 “ Nec mora surgenti è somnis, lucémque tuenti,
 “ Matronam insignem Genitor vultûque decoram
 “ Obtulit ante oculos Adæ: miratur honorem
 “ Egregium, et toto fulgentem pectore formam;
 “ Agnoscitque suo sumptum de corpore corpus,
 “ Et sic incipiens læto tandem ore profatur;
 “ Aspicio, accipiôque libens tua maxima rerum
 “ Munera largitor, nostris ex ossibus ossa.
 “ Formata in teneros humani corporis artus
 “ Offers, egregiâque thori me compare donas,” &c.

I must not omit to mention an English poem, relating to the state of innocence, entitled “ The Glasse of Time in *the two first Ages*, divinely handled by Thomas Peyton, of Lincolne’s Inne, Gent.” 4to. Lond. 1623; and to observe also that

Part of Du Bartas had been translated into verse, and published, before the first edition of Sylvester's, "by William Lisle of Wîlburgham, Esquier for the King's body," namely, in 1596 and 1598, and again in 1625. Lisle's compound epithets, in his translation, are numerous, and sometimes very beautiful. Sylvester has often merit also of this kind : but Sylvester is not always original : his shining phrases may be frequently traced in contemporary or preceding poets. In justice, however, to this laborious and amusing writer, I shall here close my remarks with a detached specimen of his poetry ; to which, if Milton has been indebted, the temptation of the Serpent in *Paradise Lost* affords such a contrast, that the reader will be at no loss how to appreciate the improvement.

" Eve, second honour of this vniverse !
 " Is't true (I pray) that jealous God, perverse,
 " Forbids (quoth he) both you, and all your race,
 " All the fair fruits these siluer brooks embrace ;
 " So oft bequeath'd you, and by you possest,
 " And day and night by your own labour drest ?

" With th' air of these sweet words, the wily Snake
 " A poysoned air inspired (as it spake)
 " In Eve's frail brest ; who thus replies : O ! knowe,
 " Whate'er thou be, (but thy kind care doth showe
 " A gentle friend,) that all the fruits and flowrs
 " In this earth's-heav'n are in our hands and powrs,
 " Except alone that goodly fruit diuine,
 " Which in the midst of this green ground doth shine ;
 " But all good God (alas ! I wot not why)
 " Forbad us touch that tree, on pain to dy.—

" She ceast ; already brooding in her heart
 " A curious wish, that will her weal subvert.
 " As a false loue, that thick snares hath laid
 " T' intrap the honour of a fair young maid,
 " When she (though little) listning ear affords
 " To his sweet, courting, deep-affected words,
 " Feels some asswaging of his freezing flame,
 " And sooths himself with hope to gain his game ;
 " And, rapt with joy, vpon this point persists,
 " That parleing city never long resists :
 " Even so the Serpent, that doth counterfet
 " A guileful call t' allure vs to his net,
 " Perceiuing Eve his flattering gloze digest,
 " He prosecutes ; and, jocund, doth not rest,
 " Till he haue try'd foot, hand, and head, and all,
 " Vpon the breach of this new-battered wall.

" No, Fair, (quoth he) beleeeve not that the care
 " God hath, mankinde from spoyling death to spare,
 " Makes him forbid you (on so strict condition)
 " This purest, fairest, rarest fruit's fruition.
 " A double fear, an envie, and a hate,
 " His iealous heart for euer cruciate ;
 " Sith the suspected vertue of this tree
 " Shall soon disperse the cloud of idiocy,
 " Which dims your eyes ; and, further, make you seem
 " (Excelling vs) even equall gods to him.
 " O World's rare glory ! reach thy happy hand,
 " Reach, reach, I say ; why dost thou stop or stand ?
 " Begin thy bliss, and do not fear the threat
 " Of an vncertain God-head, onely great
 " Through self-aw'd zeal : Put on the glistering pall
 " Of immortality ; Do not forestall
 " (As envious stepdame) thy posteritie
 " The soverain honour of Divinitie."

Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, edit. 1621, pp. 192, 193.

As Milton has been supposed to have been much

obliged to other *poets* in describing the unsubdued spirit of Satan, especially where he says,

“ Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven ;”

I am tempted to make an extract or two from Stafford's *Niobe*, a *prose*-work already ^y mentioned, in which Satan speaks the following words; not dissimilar to passages in Fletcher and Crashaw, which have been cited, on the same subject.

“ They say, forsooth, that pride was the cause of my fall; and that I dwell where there is nothing but weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth; of which that falsehood was the authour, I will make you plainelie perceiue. True it is, Sir, that I (*storming at the name of supremacie*) sought to depose my Creatour; which the watchful, all-seeing eye of Prouidence finding, degraded me of my angelicall dignitie, dispossessed me of all pleasures; and the Seraphin, and Cherubin, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Arch-angeli, Angeli, and all the celestiall Hierarchieyes, (with a shout of applause,) *sung my departure out of heauen*: my Alleluia was turned into an Ehu; and too soone I found, that I was corruptibilis ab alio, though not in alio; and that he, that gaue me my being, could againe take it from mee. Now, for as much as I was once an Angell of light, it was the will of Wisédome to confine me to darknes, and to create me Prince thereof: that so I, who COULD NOT OBEY IN HEAVEN, MIGHT COMMAUND IN HELL. And, belieue mee, Sir, I had rather controule within my dark diocese, than to reinhabite cælum empyrium, and there liue in subjection, vnder check.” Edit. 1611, pp. 16—18, part the second. Stafford calls Satan the “grim-visag'd Goblin,” *ibid.* p. 85. And, in the first part of the book, he

^y See the Note ^h, p. 386..

describes the devil as having “ committed incest with his daughter, the World.” p. 3.

I have thus brought together opinions, delivered at different periods, respecting the *Origin of Paradise Lost* ; and have humbly endeavoured to trace, in part, the reading of the great poet, subservient to his *plan*. More successful discoveries will probably arise from the pursuits of those, who are devoted to patient and liberal investigation. “ ^a Videlicet hoc illud est præcipuè studiorum genus, quod vigiliis augeat ; ut cui subinde ceu fluminibus ex decursu, sic accedit ex lectione minutatim quo fiat uberius.” To such persons may be recommended the masterly observations of him, who was once so far imposed upon as to believe Lauder an honest man, and Milton a plagiarist ; but who expressed, when “ ^a *Douglas* and *Truth* appeared,” the ^b strongest indignation against the envious impostor : for they are observations resulting from a wish not to depreciate, but zealously to praise, the *Paradise Lost*. “ ^c Among the *inquiries*, to which this ardour of criticism has naturally given occasion, none is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospect of the progress of this mighty genius in

^a Politian. *Miscellaneorum* Præf.

^a The Progress of Envy, an excellent poem occasioned by Lauder's attack on the character of Milton. See Lloyd's *Poems*, 1762, p. 221.

^b So bishop Douglas told the affectionate biographer of Dr. Johnson. See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 197, edit. 1799.

^c See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 199.

the construction of his work ; a view of the fabrick gradually rising, perhaps, from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the center, and its turrets sparkle in the skies ; to trace back the structure, through all its varieties, to the simplicity of its first plan ; to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected ; whether its founder dug them from the quarries of Nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own."

I may venture to add that, in such inquiries, patience will be invigorated rather than dispirited ; and every new discovery will teach us more and more to admire the genius, the erudition, and the memory, of the inimitable Milton. TODD.

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